National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XV. NO. 20. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1854. WHOLE NO. 748.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY (ON SATURDAY),
At $2 per annum,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, 138 *Nassau St., New York,*
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
31 *North Fifth St., Philadelphia.*

Selections.

HOW THE AUBURN CONVENTION WAS BE-WHIGGED

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Evening Post* gives the following account of how the grindstone was turned at the Anti-Nebraska Convention, at Auburn, so that it would grind nothing but the Whig axe. The writer signs himself "A Free Democrat," and, making every allowance for any partisan feeling he may have, there is nothing incredible in his statement, and the result of the action of the Convention renders it highly probable that it is all perfectly true:

I attended the adjourned meeting of the Saratoga Convention, held at this place, yesterday, as a delegate from the neighbouring Assembly district, and watched the proceedings with great interest. Mr. Seward, Raymond, the three Morgans and a host of managers and wire-pullers were present in an adjoining room, like Wellington at Waterloo, whence proceeded the orders and directions which were to control the action of the convention.

It was very evident that there were two widely distinct classes composing the convention. Plain, straightforward, candid farmers and mechanics, the delegates of the people, were there from all parts of the State, without reference to party organization; and the cunning, unscrupulous tools and parasites of the Whigs.

From the earliest moment it was quite apparent that the programme had been arranged and the result prepared. Misgivings and apprehension among the Democratic delegates were freely interchanged. It was remarked that the delegations from Albany, Syracuse, Utica, Cayuga and Monroe were remarkably *full*, while from most others, and particularly the remote counties, scarcely more than one delegate from each Assembly district was present. At the Saratoga meeting, a solemn resolution was passed and recorded, that all questions of nominations, &c., should be decided by the votes of the convention, *estimated by Assembly districts;* giving each Assembly district one, and but one vote, without regard to the number of members from such districts actually present. This was done, evidently, for the purpose of obtaining and receiving a more complete representation from the people of the State, and to prevent the possibility of packing the Auburn Convention.

Relying upon this resolution, the distant districts were mostly represented each by a single delegate.

The convention assembled at 11, and was organized before one o'clock, V. Ch. McCoun in the chair. At one o'clock a recess until half-past two was taken for dinner.

Shortly after dinner the game began. Multitudes of Whigs who were not members of the convention had crowded in, and were doggedly and indiscriminately occupying seats allotted to delegates. There was at all times much noise and confusion, several members at once from all parts of the hall screaming at the top of their voice. Everybody awards great praise to the presiding officer for the fairness and patience which distinguished him, as he steadfastly strove to preserve order and give to all equal rights. At least one-third of the delegates present were small managing Whig politicians—the kind of men who are the busiest when dirty work is to be done.

The Albany delegation and Albany outsiders were stationed at the right of the forum, near the open door leading to the ante-room which was the real *seat of government*. While watching that crowd of fellows, I saw that most of their eyes were turned towards somebody occupying a seat in the middle of the room; although it was impossible to distinguish for what or for whom they were looking. The tumult of voices nearer the chair, of persons addressing the meeting, effectually diverted the attention of the majority of the delegates; but I sat where it was impossible for me not to see that a move was shortly to be made by these Whig masters of chicane.

After about twenty minutes, and while this crowd of Whigs were attentively looking, a sharp, clear voice rung out from the middle of the room—"*Mr. President, I move that the votes on all questions to be decided by this convention be taken*"—(at this moment there was a great clapping of hands among the aforesaid crowd, and cries of "*Second the motion*" by myriads, before they could possibly know what the motion was to be)—"*be taken* PER CAPITA, AND NOT BY ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS."

This brought at least one-third of the whole convention instantly to their feet. It is impossible to describe the scene by any language. Conceive of a hundred men, distributed all over the room, crying, "*Mr. Speaker,*" "*Mr. Chairman,*" "*Mr. President*"—some going on with the greatest excitement, in the language of expostulation and entreaty, fifty speeches being made together, nobody listening, and the Whigs laughing in their sleeves. This scene continued for half an hour. One tall old man—in a plain blue coat of old-fashioned cut—evidently unused to public speeches, with his great truthful-looking black eyes piercing through the iron grey hair which over-topped his temples, stood up, calmly and steadily, waiting, without sign of impatience, while all around him was a perfect uproar. At length his voice was heard. The chairman, upon learning his name from one of the vice-presidents, gave him the floor, after rapping for some time to get order.

"Mr. Cheerman" (said he), "I come from a distant county, which is entitled to ten delegates upon this floor. Eight on 'em attended at Saratogee. There a jint resolve was passed to take the vote at this place by 'sembly deestricts. They couldn't all on 'em very well come here, most on 'em's poor and couldn't afford tew. 'Fore coming, they met at my house, all but one were thar. They kind of cast about, and me and my neighbour, Mr. ———, 'greed to come and give the votes of them tew deestricts.

"Now we've come, and if you're going to take the votes *per chapter*, and not by deestrict, you'd ought to told us so before, and then them eight delegates wouldn't a staid to hum.

"Now, them fellars yender, and these here from Cayugy and Ondagy, have come here enough on 'em to outvote *per chapter* the hull vote of the State of New York, as you agreed to have it took. It aint right, seems to me, for them fellars all to vote *per chapter*."

This was the substance of the speech. The plainness and candour with which it was uttered told that it came from the heart of a man who came to that convention with the disposition to do right. It was refreshing to see such a man there. There were many such who tried to get the floor and expostulate against the wrong, but most of such men are not habituated to express themselves amidst the riot of noisy politicians and unscrupulous demagogues. Many felt the wrong, but few said anything after the old blue-coated farmer sat down. The fraud was apparent, the vote was taken on the motion *per chapter* (with much ineffectual expostulation), and decided to be *carried*, by the force of *lungs*, outsiders and lobbies joining in the uproarious *aye*. The *no* was weak and feeble in comparison, but it went up from honest hearts, vainly endeavouring to stem the torrent of fraud.

The management, after this, had little or nothing to do. They had repudiated the basis of representation, violated a solemn treaty, removed the land-marks which defined the power of parties, and had shackled the People's Convention with the slavery of party-manœuvre. And this at a "People's Anti-Nebraska Convention"!

Such proceedings were just what the people sent their delegates there to rebuke. Senator Douglas will rejoice at such conventions. He will twit Seward, Weed & Co. of stealing his thunder. It was the Nebraska outrage, acted over again for the benefit of Mr. Seward, which Senator Douglas perpetrated last winter.

After the consummation of this outrage, the Democrats, about one hundred in number, attending the convention, lost all heart and gave up the contest. They felt that the entire Whig ticket was to be nominated by this method of handling the cards, and that there was no use of trying any more.

The subject of nominations called forth much discussion. The Whigs, feeling that their choice of trumps had won the game, kindly allowed a pretty free expression of opinion. Bradford R. Wood, of Albany, would have been the clear choice of the convention for Lieutenant-Governor if the vote had have been taken fairly. But as it was, Raymond of the *Times* had it by 127 to 84. As many as fifteen or twenty Democratic delegates refused to vote at all on the question or had left the convention in disgust before the vote was taken.

The present result is known. What was intended for a fair, candid convention of the people, without the contamination of party, has been turned into a *Whig Convention* by the most unscrupulous dishonesty and fraud.

ALMOST A FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE IN BATH.

IT appears that our city was in a *quiet* state of excitement Tuesday and Tuesday evening, in consequence of the arrival at the mouth of the river of the Bark Franklin, Captain Cook, belonging to Portland, supposed to have a fugitive slave on board. She was from Jacksonville, Ga., with a load of pine timber, consigned to Page & Reed, Hallowell. It appeared that the bark put into Holmes Hole during the storm of the 9th inst., when the Captain notified the officer of the Customs of the fact that he had a fugitive on board and solicited his aid in sending him back to his master.

It appears that the Captain failed to obtain the services of an officer to return the fugitive, and, after remaining in Holmes Hole seven days, put to sea, as was supposed, with the fugitive on board. This supposition was immediately telegraphed to Boston, and, on Saturday last, one of the members of the celebrated "Vigilance Committee" arrived in Bath. It appears, now, that the good citizens of this hydropathic city (those whom it was supposed safe to enlighten on the subject of the supposed oppressed) suddenly became excited and exceedingly active in keeping a "bright look out" for the Franklin. Day after day passed and nothing but two-masted vessels arrived up the river. Tuesday a bark hove in sight, entered the river and anchored off Bath, at about half-past seven that evening. The news of her arrival soon spread through the ranks of the *Know-Somethings* like wild fire, and at about half past eight o'clock twelve sturdy men (one of whom was the vigilant member of the Boston Vigilance Committee) boarded the bark and called for the Captain. The crew immediately came on deck and invited the delegation into the forecastle, stating that the Captain had "turned in." The slave was demanded. What slave? was the question. The slave that secreted himself in this vessel when you left Jacksonville, rejoined the spokesman of the Bath delegation. "Oh, he run away, at Holmes Hole, and carried the boat with him," was the answer of the tar, which statement was soon confirmed by the entire crew. The crew then went on and stated that the Captain made every effort while in Holmes Hole to send the fugitive back into slavery; he notified the Custom House officer and sought for a United States Marshal, but in vain. The slave, at last, learning what was going on, disappeared, and no sooner was he missed than one of the boats, containing four oars, was missing also. Neither slave nor boat have been heard from since by Capt. Cook, The Steward was paid off and left the vessel at about the same time the fugitive departed.

It appears that Captain Cook caused the authorities of Jacksonville to be notified of the whereabouts of the runaway, whereupon communication was had with the higher authorities at Washington, and—lo! and behold! the Revenue Cutter *Caleb Cushing* suddenly made her appearance below Bath harbour and took her station inside the fort at the mouth of the river. This was on Saturday night. She remained there until Tuesday afternoon, *after the Franklin passed up the river*, when she disappeared as suddenly as she came. We understand that the party which went on board of the Franklin, from this place, last evening, went with the intention of taking the fugitive, if he was on board, at all risks. They consisted of some of our principal business men and mechanics. A large body of men were in reserve in case the pioneer delegation had not succeeded. Such are the facts relative to the quiet state of excitement in this city for the last few days.—*Bath (Me.) Mirror.*

GEN. CASS NO BETTER THAN BENTON OR VAN BUREN—THE NULLIFIERS DESERTING HIM.

[From The Richmond Enquirer, September 22.]

GENERAL CASS possesses much of the intellectual and moral worth of the old race of American statesmen; but, unfortunately, he is not exempt from the infirmity which distinguishes the public men of the present day. Not deficient in personal courage, he is yet sadly wanting in moral intrepidity. Sometimes this weakness has exhibited itself in a ludicrous, sometimes in an almost tragic aspect. Sometimes it has driven him to comic expedients of subterfuge, and again to deplorable neglect of public duty. It is the cause, first and last, of the miscarriage of his ambition. Instead of venturing boldly out to sea, under the guidance only of principle, he has clung timorously to shore, and has directed his course by varying and deceitful landmarks. The tacking and doubling which a slavish subserviency to a capricious popular sentiment imposed upon General Cass shipwrecked his fortunes.

The defects of timidity and of a too anxious and constant regard for his personal interests not only destroyed the dignity and completeness of his character as a statesman, but ultimately alienated that very popular favour which he so assiduously courted. The people will pardon a blunder when committed in the fearless discharge of duty. They will tolerate eccentricity of opinion in a public servant, if it be boldly avowed and be the result of an honest adherence to principle. They respect the qualities of courage and self-reliance; but they despise the politician who servilely worships the whims and humours of a fickle public sentiment. General Cass seems never to have appreciated this feeling of the "masses," and it is to misconception in this respect that we attribute the want of courage and firmness which has marred his fortunes. It would be reasonable to anticipate that, as age moderated the ardour of his ambition and more serious considerations elevated him above the passions and struggles of politicians, he would exhibit something less of concern for popular favour and something more of regard for principle and duty. But, whether it be that timidity is an incurable weakness of his nature, or that he has not yet relinquished all hope of the Presidency, he has recently exemplified his proverbial infirmity in a very characteristic manner.

In the late exposition of his views of slavery as affected by the Nebraska bill, General Cass is reported to have used the following language: "It was true the northern sentiment was opposed to slavery—it was natural that it should be. He was opposed to it, and had said in the Senate that it was a political evil, and many other things greatly to the displeasure of the South, and would stick to it under all circumstances," &c. "He thanked God that he lived in a free State." "There was no reason why people in the territories should not govern themselves, make their own local laws, and define the character of their institutions. He maintained that the Nebraska bill did not open Kansas and Nebraska to slavery—if it did, he would yield all argument—but slavery could not go there unless the people themselves wanted it. A clause introduced by his colleague had cut off all claims to establish slavery under the operation of the old law when the territory was acquired by the United States. Slavery is not recognised in the territories, and is only subject to local laws—every man there is free—no slave, no master is recognised until the people voted it. Unperverted human feeling is opposed to slavery," &c., &c. Such is the interpretation which Gen. Cass gives a Michigan audience of the spirit and effect of the Nebraska bill, and such the exposition of his own principles and feelings in regard to slavery. The same infirmity of nature which has so often betrayed the veteran politician into ridiculous and deplorable blunders caused him here to abandon the high ground which he would be thought to occupy at the South, and to cringe to the insolent spirit of northern Abolitionism. Gen. Cass might have moderated his language to suit the temper of his constituents, but it was scarcely allowable in him to sacrifice his principles even to the necessities of his position. At any rate, he cannot expect the South to recollect only the brave words which he uttered in Washington, and to take for naught the treacherous recantation at Detroit. If his language be correctly given in the report of his speech, he has severed the last cord which bound him to the Democracy of the South. Henceforth he must rank with Benton and Van Buren, as one who has insulted our feelings and betrayed our confidence. The weak attempt to serve two masters, to reconcile devotion to the Constitution with submission to Abolitionism—an attempt to which he was persuaded by the suggestions of an undying ambition—has placed him with these illustrious apostates, in the limbo of lost and dishonoured politicians.

It is refreshing, in contrast with this spectacle of weakness and duplicity, to contemplate the manly and fearless course of Senator Douglas. It is his fortune, as it has been before, to encounter a more vehement and vindictive expression of popular indignation, but, with a courage as rare in these days as it is admirable, he stands erect under the peltings of the storm, and hurls defiance in the teeth of the mad hooting mob. He does not shrink from the responsibility of a faithful discharge of duty.

IS IT THE INTEREST OF MISSOURI THAT KANSAS SHOULD BECOME A SLAVE STATE?

From The Missouri Democrat.

THE question of making a slave State of the Territory of Kansas is of paramount importance to the people of this State. It is one that should be looked at calmly and dispassionately; and if our people are to exercise an influence in determining the question one way or the other, that influence ought certainly to be thrown on the side upon which our interest lies, and not be exercised entirely in obedience to our feelings and prejudices. Already the people upon the western borders of this State have taken the matter into consideration from this point of view. Political hacks in Weston and elsewhere have attempted, by availing themselves of what they thought a popular question, to gain notoriety and office by forming themselves into a "self-defensive association," the object of which can be best stated by copying their proceedings, as follows:

"PLATTE COUNTY SELF-DEFENSIVE ASSOCIATION.—At a meeting held in Weston, on the 29th July, A. D. 1854, amon others, were the following proceedings:

"On motion of Dr. C. W. Bayless, it was unanimously

"Resolved, 1. That this association will, whenever called upon by any of the citizens of Kansas Territory, hold itself in readiness together to assist in removing any and all emigrants who go there under the auspices of the Northern Emigration Aid Societies.

"2. That we recommend to the citizens of other counties, particularly those of Kansas Territory, to adopt regulations similar to those of this association, and to indicate their readiness to cooperate in the object of the first resolution.

"3. That these resolution be published in the papers at Weston. G. GALLOWAY, Pres't.

"B. F. Stringfellow, Sec'y."

These proceedings, however, have not had precisely the effect contemplated and desired by the politicians who conceived them. The good citizens of Platte County have come to the conclusion that they have no need of the services of these disinterested politicians in the defence of their property, but, on the contrary, they regret the movement, as one tending to injure their business, by driving away from these localities the trade of the Kansas emigrants, who do not care to have their footsteps dogged by an "organized mob"; and, therefore, the good citizens of Weston assembled in public meeting and repudiated the doings of their self-constituted guardians of the "self-defensive association." Here are some of the resolutions passed in meeting of the citizens of Weston, of which G. W. Gist was President, and to which the names of one hundred and seventy of the most respectable citizens are signed:

"Resolved, 1. That we, whose names are hereunto affixed, are order-loving and law-abiding citizens.

"Resolved, 2. That we are Union men. We love the South much, but we love the Union better. Our motto is—the Union first, the Union second, and the Union forever.

"Resolved, 3. That we disapprove the Bayless resolutions, as containing nullification, disunion and disorganizing sentiments.

"Resolved, 4. That we, as consumers, invite and solicit our merchants to purchase their goods wherever it is most advantageous to the buyer and the consumer.

"Resolved, 5. That we hold every man as entitled to equal respect and confidence until his conduct proves him unworthy of the same."

All the respectable newspapers published in the county and adjacent counties take the same view of the matter. The Weston *Reporter* (Whig), after alluding to the action taken by the citizens of Weston upon the subject, says:

"We regret to learn that a number of persons emigrating to Kansas from abroad have, upon learning that (as they term it) an organized mob was existing in this town, stopped at points below here. We can assure them that no such mob exists here, and persons emigrating to Kansas or Nebraska territories will find Weston one of the best stopping places on the Missouri river, as we have a steam ferry just below the city, and two flat boats ferries just above the town; some twenty dry good stores and four large wholesale and retail family grocery stores, two steam flouring mills, blacksmith and wagon shops, saddle and harness makers, and all other mechanical shops to be found in the upper country, from whom supplies can be furnished at retail prices as cheap as in St. Louis."

The Parkville *Luminary* (Democratic) also denounces the squad of nullifiers who have organized the "self-defensive association" in the following language:

"THE 'SELF-DEFENSIVE ASSOCIATION.'—Below we give some series of resolutions, promulgated by certain parties in Weston. They tell their own story. During the agitation which has been kept up in that city, we looked on the whole affair as a factious and local matter, which the good sense of the citizens would rectify at the proper time, and therefore took no public notice of it; we hear it said, however, that the sphere of the 'Self-Defensive Association' is to be enlarged—that on next Saturday there will be an agitation meeting in this town—and, although we have not seen the 'call,' we have thought proper to chronicle the resolutions on both sides. Weston has been injured in its business interests to an extent that will not soon be repaired, by the conduct of a few impulsive ultraists; and if they are determined not to rest satisfied until they have inoculated this peaceful community with their malignant virus, it is well that our merchants, mechanics, and order loving citizens, should get a hint of it from them beforehand.

"We deprecate the uncalled-for demonstration—protest against the movement as an unwarrantable attempt to dictate to this community as to how they shall conduct themselves and manage their own business; but if such issues as have been raised elsewhere MUST also, *nolens volens*, be raised here—if we are to be bullyragged into action that will be for our social and civil disadvantage, it may as well be known soon as late. We hope the entire platform of the association will be laid down at once, as we have a curiosity to know who among the merchants here will endorse the 'trading resolutions.' For the present, we close by pointing to the resolutions as indicative of what is coming.

"There is no doubt but that the originators of this movement calculated that they would swim with the current of popular feeling and acquire considerable political capital by thus volunteering to defend that which was in no danger, to-wit: the slavery interest of Missouri—and that they should also have the praise of perfect disinterestedness, because, generally, those who make the most of this clamour don't own a dollar's worth of slave property—which certainly is the case in this region of the State, and we take it for granted that it is so in other portions of the State likewise. The people on our western frontier took but little notice of this clamour until they perceived that it was affecting their *interest* injuriously; they then took the thing in hand, and now seem to be in a fair way of putting a speedy end to the efforts of the patriotic 'self-defenders.'"

That which has taken place upon our western frontier is but the counterpart of what has been transpiring here in St. Louis. We have also had our disinterested patriots, who have proclaimed ruin to our State unless Kansas was made a slave State, and who have not spared to visit with the most violent abuse and the most opprobrious epithets all who have dissented from their opinions. It is time, therefore, that we should begin to consider whether it has been conducive to our interest to deter by such threats the enterprising and industrious citizens of the North from settling in the territory of Kansas; and if we shall find that our self-constituted guardians, like those of Weston and Platte county, instead of benefitting our city and State by their violence, have seriously injured our interests, it would perhaps be well to follow the example of the citizens of Weston and repudiate the political charlatans who have thus made a hobby for themselves to ride into office at the expense of our good name and our best interests.

The settlement of Kansas is chiefly important to our city and State in two points of view: first, the position of the territory will make it dependent upon St. Louis as a market to supply its wants, and as an entrepôt for the produce which will spring from its exuberant soil under the hand of cultivation; this makes its early settlement of vast importance to our city, especially at this moment, when apprehensions are felt that we shall lose the trade of the upper Mississippi country by reason of the connection of the Mississippi with the lakes by railroad. Will it conduce to the speedy settlement of Kansas to make it a slave State? The facts prove that the population of non-slaveholding States increase with greater rapidity than the slaveholding States—in a ratio of two to one. It is clear, therefore, in this aspect of the case, that it is not our interest to assist in making Kansas a slave State, and that our self-constituted guardians and defenders (the Missouri *Republican*, for instance) have inflicted a stab upon our prosperity by driving from Kansas and Nebraska the hardy, laborious children of the North, by threats and violence, and by aiding Douglas in the Nebraska swindle. Even if the population of Kansas should increase as rapidly as a slave State as it would as a free State (which is contrary to all experience), it would still affect us injuriously, because the commerce of a free State is more valuable than that of a slave State of the same amount of population, because the wants of the slaves to be supplied by commerce is neither so great nor of such valuable articles as the wants of the same number of free white persons.

The second great object of interest to the people of this State and city involved in the early settlement of Kansas, and upon which the question of it becoming a slave or free States bears directly, is in regard to the early completion of the great central Pacific railroad from St. Louis to San Francisco. The settlement of Kansas under an organized government will certainly contribute to the extension of this great road to the west of Missouri. Will its completion be hastened or defeated by making Kansas a slave State? This is the question of moment to the State of Missouri. How do facts answer the question? Why, the facts assure us that the slave States do not begin to compete with the free States in the building of railroads. There are more miles of railroad built in one free State (New York) than all the slave States put together. There is not a free State in the Union which has not more miles of railroad finished than any slave State of the same population.

These results indicate that Missouri will best consult her interests by assisting in making Kansas a free State. But, says the *Republican*, the Abolitionists will settle in Kansas and run off our slaves. Has our State no other interest except in her slaves? Must every interest in our State be stricken down to favour that single interest? How does the income from the slaves in Missouri compare with the income from every other species of property and labour? How does the value of the slaves who escape into Illinois compare with the profits of our trade with the people of that State? And even if a half dozen slaves should escape every year through the instrumentality of the Abolitionists in Kansas (who, in all likelihood, would never have gone there but for the violent attempt to make it a slave State), how would their value compare with the increased profits of our trade and the speedy extension of the Pacific railroad, which would be insured by Kansas becoming a free State.

And yet, notwithstanding the facts that the interest of our State would be best subserved by Kansas becoming a free State, the entire delegation in Congress from Missouri, except Col. Benton, were ready to disregard the pledges of both the great political parties against the reagitation of slavery and to violate the Missouri compromise, which had given peace to the country for more than thirty years, in order to allow slavery to enter Kansas.

TERMS OF ANNEXATION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the contradictory rumours in regard to the treaty for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands to the United States, there is no reasonable doubt, not only that a treaty providing for annexation has been agreed upon, but that it is now in this country for the sanction of the General Government. It was a matter of notoriety at the time that Mr. Gregg, the U. S. Commissioner at the Islands, was sent out with full powers to agree upon a treaty; and undoubtedly the present Administration is ambitious to identify itself with the consummation of an act so important and popular as would be the acquisition of these prolific islands of the Pacific.

Mr. Gregg, as is well known at Washington, has been indefatigable in prosecuting the duties of his mission. He met with obstacles at the outset from the fact that he was a Catholic—an almost unpardonable offence in the estimation of the present ruler of the Islands. But this obstacle was overcome, and Mr. G. soon found his propositions received with marked favour by nearly all, except the Heir Apparent, and a few of his immediate friends and partisans. It is believed that at least four-fifths of the natives, and nearly as large a proportion of the foreign residents, are in favour of the measure. Indeed, it is well understood at Washington that the only opponents of annexation, of any influence, are among the French, Germans and English, who are apprehensive that their business and influence would be materially injured by a union with this Government.

We learn, from well-informed sources at Washington, that the terms of the Treaty are substantially as follows:

The Islands are to be at once admitted into the Union, *not as a Territory, but as a State*—with full State sovereign powers. In consideration of this surrender of their national sovereignty, the United States, besides agreeing to respect all existing charters, land titles, &c., are to pay some $300,000 or $400,000 annually as life annuities to such persons as the sovereign authorities shall designate. It is believed that the number who will be declared entitled to share in this annuity will not exceed thirty individuals, including the King, his two sons, and the members of the House of Nobles, all of whom are now rich, and constitute the great landlords of the kingdom. Their ages will average about 40 years; and the sum to be paid to each will cease to be a debt upon the United States Government at their death.

Beside the sovereignty of the Islands, all the Government property—including buildings, claims upon foreign Governments, &c.—will, it is understood, be transferred to the U. S. Government by this treaty. The value of these buildings alone are said to exceed $1,500,000, and the claims upon the French and British Governments to about $500,000 more; making an agregate of $2,000,000.

These terms, although not extravagant, are sufficiently liberal. The Islands would prove important acquisitions to the United States, commercially and politically. Our rapidly growing commerce in the Pacific require them as places of trade and shelter. Their products are exactly what our ships require; and in the event of a war with any commercial nation, their possession would be invaluable. Nor will all the benefits of this acquisition be upon our side. The Islands themselves will at once feel the impulse of new life, and become, ultimately, as rich as they are now salubrious.

But, there is one additional fact, which cannot fail to have an important influence in the decision of this question. These Islands—thanks to the spirit of true Christianity which has swayed the councils of the kingdom—have never tolerated slavery, and their soil is not only free from the taint of that vile system, but the sentiment of the people is emphatic in its condemnation of it. These Islands, therefore, will come in as a Free State, and will add one more to the undimmed stars which make up our glorious galaxy.—*Alb. Eve. Journal.*

THE SPIRIT OF SLAVERY ILLUSTRATED.

To the Editor of the National Era:

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16, 1854.

HAVING recovered from the fatigue incident to several days and nights in the cars, I feel strongly impelled to give you at least one incident of my journey.

From New York on to Baltimore, I observed two respectable-looking coloured men, who kept closely together, occupying, when they could, the seat next to the door, which travellers generally avoid, as being least agreeable. I supposed—and I think my supposition correct—they chose that seat as being out of the way, and one not usually desired.

In the midst of dust and heat we reached Baltimore, *all* of us not in the best of moods, I fear. Amongst the crowd, I *did* manage to slip into the horse car which was to take us to the Washington depôt. I will just whisper to you, Mr. Editor, that I am not very strong-minded—am apt to get alarmed when obliged to take care of myself. I felt relieved, therefore, when I found myself seated, and when, to my very timid question, "Does this car take us to the Washington depôt?" a burly old gentleman before me answered, good humouredly, "Well, I reckon so." I was content, and, having got rid of self, turned to observe those around. Two gentlemen had just made good their entrance—one especially attracted my attention, by his *very* unceremonious "Get up, you rascal!" accompanying the words by the application of his foot to a poor fellow's shins. I turned to see *who* was thus addressed, when lo! I found it to be one of the coloured men I have mentioned. Several applications of the foot, and "Don't you hear me, you rascal? What business have *you* to be seated, when white people are standing?" at last raised the negro from his seat. Poor fellow! he was so taken by surprise, that it was a moment before he comprehended what they desired. The *gentleman* had exhausted himself, facing him, the negro exclaimed, in a tone of smothered indignation, "The conductor told me to sit here!" To this the *gentleman* replied, with a warning nod, "You'll know better next time!" Then, evidently in a state of great self-satisfaction, he took the seat vacated, making room for his friend, who remarked, in an admiring tone, "You gave him a lesson—I did not notice they were blacks until you spoke."

All this, Mr. Editor, passed within the eyesight of at least thirty persons; yet no one said a word in *defence*, not of the negro, but of *right!* Yes, a lady near me exclaimed, "I suppose he thinks himself a gentleman; but *I* think the black behaved most like one!"

Silently I pondered these things in my heart.

MARY.

SAINT DOMINGO.

THERE is at the present time an evident effort being made to cement a connection between this country and the republic of St. Domingo. The design is, indeed, not only now commenced. It has long been entertained, and for some time exertions have been made to prosecute it to a result. But it would appear at this moment to be progressing more in accordance with the hopes of those who have been urging it than for some time it promised ever to do. A few words in reference to the subject now can, therefore, scarcely be considered out of season.

Of course, as in all cases in which the parties to the undertaking purposely keep silent upon the business in which they are engaged, we can resort to inference only for a conclusion as to their motives and aims. In the present instance, we are not informed by those engaged in the project what they propose. Almost all that we positively know is, that they are exerting themselves with the view of gaining some ulterior object of interest, if not of importance, to the United States, in the Island of Hispaniola. We certainly do not know who they are that are the chief movers, we do not know by what authority they are countenanced and supported, any more than we do what they desire to attain, or how they expect to effect their object. We learn, indeed, from vague reports, that the federal authorities have dispatched an agent to the Government of the eastern part of the island of St. Domingo; and on yet less satisfactory authority we are informed that the sole object of sending that agency is that of securing a harbour for our West India shipping.

Under these circumstances, we can but treat the subject from known facts, through reasonable hypothesis, to what appears to us a reasonable conclusion. If facts are opposed to the vague statements which have been published in reference to the matter, no reasonable man can for a moment hesitate in pronouncing which ought to be preferred. And if the positions we assume are correct, the consequences ought to be taken with them, at least until they be shown to be opposed to reason or justice.

Now, what plausibility is there in the statement that the object of the mission or expedition to Saint Domingo is that of securing a port for our West India shipping? What need is there of such a port? To facilitate the traffic with what countries is it desirable? To afford what advantages in case of war would it be available?

With the West Indies, beyond Cuba, our trade is so limited that the possession of such a port can neither be necessary nor advisable. Jamaica is almost the only British island in the archipelago with which a traffic worth naming is maintained (even with the Barbadoes, the most prosperous of the whole, being very trifling), and she lies nearer to us than Saint Domingo. In our traffic with Porto Rico, such as it is, how the possession of any port in that republic could benefit us, it is impossible for unbiased examination to discover; for whether Ponce on the south side, or San Juan on the north side, be the port frequented, access or departure can need no refuge that is not as readily at command without the possession of such a port as it would be with it. And as to the remaining French, Dutch, Danish and Swedish islands, the question is utterly unworthy of consideration in connection with them.

And in what respect would the possession of a port in Saint Domingo be an advantage to us in case of war? With whom are we to contemplate such a war? We trust that we shall never witness war between the United States and any European country; but as it is well to be prepared for all events, let us suppose it to exist with England, or France, or Spain. What would be the advantages of a port in Saint Domingo? We confess we should expect nothing from it but disappointment and disaster. If with Spain, that port would be assailable from both Cuba and Porto Rico without any reasonable hope of receiving succour from the continent, in case of being reduced to extremities. And there is, as far as we can judge, little probability of our ever being engaged in a war with Spain, without being involved with England and France; and they would not only be able to attack us at similar advantage; but would further doubtless be able to enlist the negrophilist sympathies of the negro empire of the western part of the island, and of the negroid republic of the eastern part, in savage hostility against us.

Neither in peace nor in war, then, can we perceive the slightest immediate advantage to be derived from the possession of a port in St. Domingo by the United States. And both the author of the present movement with that alleged object, and the Government said to be countenancing and supporting them, must permit us to pay them the compliment—equivocal though it be—of saying that we believe they cannot but view the matter in this respect very much as we ourselves do. They have the same facts before them that we have, and cannot, we believe, come to any other conclusion than we have, as to the value of such a project as they are said to be engaged in, with respect to Saint Domingo.

And, of course, we discard as merely ostensible the statement that such is their object. To say what really is their object, we are not so well prepared. We can imagine but one, at present, as likely to be it, and that is, that of gaining a footing in the country, with a view to subsequently attaining further power in it, and ultimately, perhaps, annexation.

Under ordinary circumstances, such a course might be regarded as only a natural and legitimate one in the progress of our "manifest destiny." We believe that no statesman, even of the old world, of any real profoundness of acumen, now doubts that it is anything more than a question of time and manner as to the bringing of the whole of the West Indies under the Government of this continent. Certainly we do not, and as certainly we believe we may say no American statesman can. And we believe the time to be rapidly approaching, too, in which that result is to commence to manifest its advent, by the annexation of the more important islands.

It behooves us, however, carefully to examine every step taken in that direction, and not to plunge rashly and injudiciously towards our object. Incongruous elements must not be introduced—cannot be introduced, except by gross treachery—into our institutions. Is there any possibility of that being done, should the progress towards the annexation of Santo Domingo be imprudently or treacherously hastened.

Undoubtedly there is. Saint Domingo is as truly a negroid republic as Hayti is a negro empire. The majority of its inhabitants are negroes in the strictest acceptation of the term, and all of them are, more or less, of mixed blood. A few whites there may be amongst them, but only few; indeed, the exceptions are barely enough to prove the rule. And how shall any political connection be formed by the United States with such a Government or community? Even the most fanatical of Northern Abolitionists, we should imagine, could scarcely hope, either by force or fraud, to cause it to be formed. And yet we can see no other object which the actors in the present movement can possibly contemplate. At all events, the probability of its being so is so great that we cannot think the few observations we have made on the subject either misplaced or unreasonable.—*N. O. Picayune.*

A CASE OF BOLD KIDNAPPING.

BYBERRY, Sept. 19, 1854.

ABOUT 4 o'clock yesterday, P. M., a suspicious looking carriage load of men (or devils, as they turned out to be) were seen to pass by my place; they lurked about somewhere in the neighbourhood until nightfall, when they rushed into one of our friend Purvis's tenant houses and seized a coloured man, in the presence of his wife and another woman, threatening to shoot them if they interfered and dragged him out, beating him over the head at the same time with a mace; the poor fellow continued to scream for help until his voice was stifled by his groans; they forced him into their carriage, and drove off triumphantly, before any effectual assistance could be offered. This neighbourhood is cut up by many roads, leading in various directions, as you know, which facilitated their diabolical deed, making it impossible, under the cover of night, to tell which way they took.

The kidnapped man came here several months ago, from New Jersey, where he has lived for several years, as I understand. Whether he has ever been a slave or not, I can't tell. He had gained the respect of those whom he had worked for in this place by his sober and industrious habits. He has left a heart-broken wife and one child to mourn his loss.

The particulars in regard to his arrest I learned from the kidnapped man's wife—being *deprived* of the pleasure of being present myself.

This neighbourhood, like too many others, has been wofully cursed by a hunker ministry. I believe the opinion of Albert Barnes to be true, that is, if the clergy were to do their duty, slavery (and consequently such scenes as we have had here) could not last one hour.

I hope, sir, you will continue, as you have begun, to call them to an account until they shall show as much regard for the flock as they now do for the fleece.

Let the coloured people and their friends remember that eternal vigilance must be observed. If there is any virtue in dry powder and sharp steel, be prepared to use them on all such cases as above described.

In haste, I remain ever for the right, H. B.

☞This is one of the most daring outrages that was ever perpetrated in this State. It appears that the man was seized by brute force, without any pretext whatever. It does not appear that the kidnappers had even a warrant for his arrest. In short, it is a case of practical kidnapping, and we trust the people of that vicinity will spare no exertion to tree the scoundrels. Such acts are disgraceful to our country and our civilization, and would not be tolerated even in Algiers.—*Norristown (Pa.) Olive Branch.*

REV. DR. ADAMS'S REPLY TO HON. H. A. WISE.

From The (Boston) Traveller.

BOSTON, Sept, 26, 1854.

HON. H. A. WISE—*Dear Sir:* Wishing to fortify myself in certain statements which I proposed to make on the subject of slavery thought the press, I addressed letters of inquiry to several gentlemen at the South, and among them to yourself, whom I had heard spoken of as representing a certain tone of Southern sentiment. My inquiries did not indicate my own opinions. I merely wished to get vouchers for my accuracy in several particulars.

You sent me a reply covering seven sheets. I saw that you were, in your thoughts, addressing the North, and not me; yet I acknowledged your prompt and thorough answer to my inquiries in a note which you have probably received.

Without consulting your correspondent, but to his surprise, you soon after published my letter of inquiry and your answer in the Washington *Union*.

I suppose that this will generally be considered as a breach of honour. The discourtesy has subjected me to some inconvenience; because my letter of inquiry, my simple putting of questions, with a brief statement of my object, made only to satisfy you that my intentions were honourable, has been seized upon by some, and used in an ungenerous manner, which could not have been done had I been allowed to speak to the public for myself. Before engaging in public letter-writing, it is agreeable to make one's own selection of a correspondent, and to prepare one's self to make a just impression of his own feelings and motives upon the public. Moreover, we may be greatly obliged for some private information from a gentleman with whose name and reputation we should not care to have our own names publicly connected.

Your letter is able and eloquent, the information which it imparts is useful, and will suggest important reflections; but had its tone and manner been like those of other letters from Southern gentlemen to me on the same subject, it would have made a happier impression. When one begins to read it, he feels as though he had encountered a gale of wind. It struck many readers here as an assault upon your correspondent. Unhappily, your postscript, in which you disavow any personal disrespect, was omitted by you in print; but this injustice to yourself I endeavoured to repair by sending the postscript to one of our papers which had resented your seemingly ungallant manner. You say that you trust you have made "a candid, decent and respectful reply." So long as you designed it to be so, that is sufficient, whatever some may think to the contrary.

On reading your letter once, I laid it aside, thinking of it only as a reply to my questions. General sentiments in it met my approbation: but I did not view some things which it contained as I now do after an attentive perusal. I shall not reply to them, however, not being willing to enter into a controversy on this subject, and my purpose in my forthc

a Consul like Sanders, in any of the capitals of Europe, is a symptom of peril which all true Americans should take heed to without the loss of a moment. What have they been about to permit so fatal a risk to their national honour?

According to the latest accounts, Mr. Soulé has sought safety on the French side of the Spanish frontier. By his vulgar turbulence (which he calls the chivalry of the South) he long ago fixed attention on the question why he was chosen for the post which had been filled by Washington Irving. The answer lay very near the surface. Soulé was sent to Madrid to procure the annexation of Cuba to the United States, on behalf of the slaveholding interest. At first, people hesitated to say the words which were at the end of their tongues—"to obtain that annexation by fair means or foul." But the Spaniards say that now; and not only the Spaniards, but the French—the staunch French Republicans in Spain, who would not stir in the late *émeute* at Madrid because they saw there was nothing republican in it. Both these parties believe and declare that Soulé stirred up that riot, and sent his personal adherents into the streets to help the fray; and we are much mistaken if his own countrymen do not believe the same thing, and despise him as heartily and indignantly as the people of Madrid, from whose wrath he has precipitately withdrawn. His conduct is declared to be so unmistakable, that news is looked for of another piratical descent upon Cuba, from the Southern States. What the Americans have to do is to stop that piracy, if it be not too late; and to make reparation for it, if it is already accomplished. They must, moreover, either exhibit a vindication of Mr. Soulé from the serious charges which at present attach to him, or recall him in manifest disgrace, and send a successor whose competency in international law and morality is well ascertained. And they must send no more Soulés or Sanderses to thrust themselves as instructors into the political affairs of foreign countries. In European eyes, Soulé's manifesto to the Spaniards, and Sanders's about Switzerland, are simply ridiculous for their ignorance and bad taste; but to their own countrymen they must be cruelly mortifying. Mr. Sanders was guilty of an intolerable impertinence in publicly impugning the purpose of Mazzini's letter of last Spring on the subject of American slavery, and in appealing to Kossuth for an authoritative interpretation of another man's letter—an interpretation which proved to be wrong. When he proceeded to favour the world with his view of Swiss affairs, he settled his affairs with Europe forever, by showing that his opinion on political matters is of no value. It remains for both these men to settle accounts with their own countrymen; and it remains for their countrymen to be very strict in exacting that account. Their national reputation has been made cruel sport of by these representatives of theirs: and they have much to retrieve. They must remember that a dignified, enlightened and honourable diplomatic representation is expected of them, and that a worthy Ambassador is therefore no sufficient set-off against an unworthy one. We welcome at our own Court at the present time a genuine Republican, and an enlightened and honourable gentleman; but a Buchanan in London cannot neutralize the mischief of a Soulé at Madrid; nor can a Buchanan as Minister wipe off the disgrace of a Sanders as Consul. It will take many years of a virtuous foreign policy, and a long succession of honourable envoys, to remove the apprehensions of the Liberal party throughout Europe that the one retrograde institution in America is undermining the principle of progress, and fatally violating the noblest political system that the world ever saw.

STANDARD OFFICE REMOVED.—The Office of the American Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from 142 to 138 Nassau street, on the corner of Beekman, and directly over the Counting Room of the *Daily Times*. The new office, like the old one, is at the head of the first flight of stairs, first door after turning to the right.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCT. 7, 1854.

☞ ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—The Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Horticultural Hall at Westchester, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 23d., 24th, and 25th of October.

The meeting will be one of importance. A central place has been selected for holding it, with a view of securing a free attendance of the members and friends of the Society. Subjects of deep moment to the Cause will be considered, and discussions of the liveliest interest may be anticipated.

Letters have been received from WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and LUCY STONE, announcing their purpose to be with us, and the presence of other distinguished speakers from a distance is expected.

A cordial invitation is hereby extended to all friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, far and near, to come to our meeting, and participate with us in our deliberations.

On behalf of the Society,

JAMES MOTT, President.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Society convened at the City Hall in Syracuse, on Friday Morning, Sept. 29, 1854, and was called to order, at 10 A. M., by the President, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, of Boston.

There was a quite goodly attendance of citizens of all political parties, but generally sympathizing more or less with this Society.

The President announced the platform free to all parties, as free to the slaveholder as the slave. They did not ask any party to forbear criticism for the sake of conciliation. Every man professing to be an Abolitionist should be searched as with lighted candles, to discern whether, in heart or conscience, he was what he professed.

On motion of Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, the following Secretaries were elected: JOHN C. HANCHETT, of Syracuse; SUSAN B. ANTHONY, of Rochester, and AARON POWELL, of Ghent.

The following Business Committee was appointed: SAMUEL J. MAY, LUCY STONE, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, LYDIA MOTT, ANDREW T. FOSS.

A hymn, prepared for the occasion, was then sung by the audience.

Rev. Mr. MAY read selections from the Scriptures.

The President now stated that if any person felt inclined to offer vocal prayer, there was now opportunity.

The PRESIDENT remarked that the poet had said that "Prayer was the soul's sincere desire, unuttered or expressed." Although no one had offered prayer this morning, it left not a doubt that it was offered in sincerity. When, some years ago, they could find no hall or place of meeting in the great modern Babylon, here in Syracuse they had met a cordial hospitality. The influence had had its effect. Now they could meet anywhere they liked in New York. They were not discouraged. As John Wesley said, "God is with us." Whether slavery would be speedily and peacefully overthrown, he would not undertake to say; but this he believed, that though a remnant might be saved, this republic was too deeply imbued in the guilt of slavery to escape judgment and destruction. One thing he knew, God is stronger than the Slave Power; Truth is unconquerable. Be not deceived. It is not that the Slave Power has grown and multiplication of slaves or the extension of slave territory. It has always been the same. It is now weaker than it was twenty-five years ago. It is the Anti-Slavery cause that has grown, till everywhere the people are talking of slavery. Our rod, like Aaron's, has swallowed up the other rods. The land is rocking like a mighty earthquake. The cause is magnificently growing and pervades all parties and denominations. We have passed through a period of mobocracy. Then the air was black with brickbats and rotten eggs. But now the case is otherwise. Not that we have swerved, but that the sentiment of the people has changed. The day of mobs has passed. A general anti-slavery sentiment has arisen. What we want is to crystallize it into principle. They have opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; they are against the Fugitive Slave Law, and are gainst the admission of more slave States, and now ask, "What lack they yet?" They lack this: They have made no vital issue with the Slave Power. It is still only sentiment. One auspicious sign of the times is the memorial of the clergymen of New England. That class has always compromised and laboured hard to show that slavery was compatible with Christianity. He did not believe that many of them would have set their hands to that memorial if they had suspected the treatment which they were to receive. They were now treated by the Slave Power as they themselves had treated the Abolitionists.

Mr. G. then read an extract from the Washington *Union*, denouncing the New England clergymen as it usually stigmatized the anti-slavery men. He also read a similar effusion from the Washington *Sentinel*, equally rich and racy. Another Southern paper, Mr. G. said, denounced the New England clergy as "clerical screech-owls." He thought it very significant and encouraging that they were emboldened to do so much towards making an issue with the Slave Power. But their morality was of a very loose character. Slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min. in Kansas was a Heaven-daring sin! Slavery in Carolina was not incompatible with Christian character, nor should it exclude slaveholders from the pulpit and communion-table!! In the mission among the Choctaw nation this was peculiarly striking. (He explained this in full.) The question, after all, related to the matter of the treasury. Would it pay? It was found that the Southern contributions to the Missionary Board were less than those received from the Sandwich Islands, while Northern Churches were proposing to cease contributions, till there was an issue made upon the slavery law in the Choctaw nation. No one supposed these gentlemen made this issue from any inherent hatred of slavery. It was from the outside influence. No one supposed that it was an inherent hatred of slavery which impelled the New York Whig State Convention to take ground in opposition to slavery. It was the outside influence. Yet it all was encouraging.

Mr. ADDINGTON, of Buffalo, had been connected with the Liberty Party since 1833. He had been asked how he could attend the Garrison meetings. His answer was like that of Paul, who said, "If Christ is preached, I rejoice." Upon the great topic of liberty to the slave, he was with them to the bottom of his heart. He had been at Auburn, as a delegate to the Temperance Convention, to the Free Democratic Convention, and to the Liberty Party Convention; and now he was here at the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and meant, if possible, to attend the anniversary celebration of the Jerry Rescue, to-morrow. He believed slavery to be *per se* a sin against God. It is unconstitutional, against all law, an outlaw. If the United States Constitution maintains slavery, it cannot be fundamental law. Pirates might make fundamental law, if such was the case. Slavery was piracy, and not the creature of law. No constitution, law, or anything, whether baptized into the Church or out of it, can make you property. I will not knowing apologize, uphold or maintain any species of wrong. This system of chattelhood involved a horrible iniquity, and was, as Wesley said, "the sum of all villanies." He exhorted the audience never to countenance anything so odious, so wicked, so abominable as slavery.

The PRESIDENT said we could get at Blackstone's ideas of law when we got at what he believed in. He believed in a king, an aristocracy, primogeniture. The issue in this country is what the people believe to be compatible with law. To say that the people, in whose hands is the government, may not covenant with each other to sanction wrong and call wrong-doers gentlemen, is absurd. They had made a constitution to give their idea of the right in matters pertaining to the government. They had given promises and agreements to recognise slavery, to allow fugitives to be hunted in all our borders, and to give political power to slaveholders. He asked that conscience should be respected. How could his Liberty Party friends reconcile with their conscience to place a construction unheard of upon the United States Constitution? Our position, if not historically correct, is at least consistent. He took the interpretation which the people gave the Constitution practically, and not the opinion of a minority. He was satisfied that it was contemplated that a portion of our population should not have rights in common with the rest. To say that people could not combine to legalize slavery, or other immoralities, was simply absurd. The position to take was, that he could not, for the advantages afforded, consent to sanction the immoralities authorized.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, from the Business Committee, now reported the following series of resolutions:

1. Resolved, That the apparent and, we fain believe, the real progress of the Anti-Slavery cause demands of us renewed explicitness in the avowal and fidelity in the maintenance of the great, unchangeable principle upon which the true success of our enterprise depends.

2. Resolved, That the reluctant admission which statesmen, partisan politicians and sectarian religionists have given of the claims of the enslaved, in the counsels of the Church and the nation, demands of us to see to it that those claims are distinctly set forth, and uncompromisingly maintained.

3. Resolved. That the exclusion of slavery from any and all territories will not satisfy the demands of mercy, of justice, of an impartial Heavenly Father; the same principles which require that slavery should not be admitted into Kansas and Nebraska, require that it should be abolished wherever it now exists; and we should never, for a moment, deem to acquiesce in the agreement of time-servers and compromisers, in the State or Church, that if the extension of human oppression can only be prevented, we will consent to its peaceful continuance in those States where it has long been established. We owe it to ourselves, and to our countrymen, especially to the slaveholders, distinctly to avow that such a compromise with them shall not be made. The same spirits that have brought up the anti-slavery agitation that now pervades our whole country will never allow that agitation to subside until every yoke is broken throughout the land, and the oppressed everywhere are set free.

4. Resolved, That the fundamental principles of this Society admit of no retraction or modification; namely, that slavery is, under all circumstances, the crime of crimes, the most intolerable form of despotism, the usurpation of all power, the annihilation of all rights, the height of impiety toward God, and the essence of all injustice toward man; and, therefore, it ought to be immediately, unconditionally and eternally abolished.

5. Resolved, That a faithful and impartial application of these principles is to be made, on this distinct issue, to all men as individuals; to all laws, compacts and governmental arrangements; to all religious sects and political parties; to all institutions, customs and usages; in short, to whatever is included in the Church or the State, or society at large; and as these are found indifferent to the success or hostile to the establishment of these principles, they are to be denounced and resisted accordingly.

6. Resolved, That this Society has proved itself true to its ideas of duty, in every emergency, in winking at no apostacy, in conniving at no compromise of principle, in allowing no sect or party occupying a pro-slavery position to go unrebuked, in yielding to no temptations, in shrinking from no cross, in making the deliverance of the slave paramount to all other questions, and in maintaining a free press and a free platform.

7. Resolved, That the existence of slavery in this land, whereby three millions and a half of our fellow-creatures are held as perishable property, and occupying as it does the entire action of the national government, is a demonstration of universal corruption, and general participance in the guilt thereof, making it certain that the popular religion is the incarnation of whatever is hypocritical and blasphemous, and the prevailing politics of the land profligate and demoralizing beyond parallel.

8. Resolved, That while we are not slow to perceive, and are glad to acknowledge, a considerable modification in the religious sentiment of the North respecting some of the aggressions of the Slave Power, we are still called upon to brand the American Church as the bulwark of slavery, including in this term all the great religious organizations throughout the land, and nearly all the minor associations.

9. Resolved, That the religious body, exercising any discipline upon its members, which admits slaveholders to its communion, or which justifies the act of slaveholding in any case, forfeits the respect and countenance of every friend of God and man.

Whereas, this Society, in common with the American nation, believing the historical and adjudged meaning of the various clauses of the Constitution of the United States to be their true construction, and that the people of the whole country have agreed with one another to suppress insurrections by the National army (those of slaves against their masters among others), to make no State laws securing the freedom of slaves escaping from a slave State into a free State, but to permit a master to pursue and reclaim his slave, and protect him from forcible interference; and whereas, we look upon such a compact as one setting at defiance the first principles of Christianity and of Republicanism, and trampling under foot every law of God and Nature; therefore,

10. Resolved, That it is because of these, its essential elements, that we pronounce the Constitution of the United States a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell, in which no true Christian, no genuine Republican can consistently have any part or lot.

11. Resolved, That we do not refuse to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, or to appoint others, by our ballots, to take it for us, as an anti-slavery measure, primarily, but as one essential to the preservation of our self-respect, our own purity of character, our private integrity and our personal honour, which we have no right to sacrifice, even for the deliverance of all the desolate and oppressed.

12. Resolved, nevertheless, That it is our firmest conviction and belief that the strength of the Anti-Slavery movement lies in the integrity of character and the unquestionable disinterestedness of purpose of its members, and that, for practical efficiency in guiding and influencing the general mind of the country, and producing political results and fundamental changes in our institutions, the most excellent and effectual way is to maintain and proclaim the highest anti-slavery idea, to demand of the nation thorough repentance and reformation, to call for the dissolution of the wicked partnership, the abrogation of the pro-slavery Constitution, and the conscientious and uncompromising maintenance, in all things political and ecclesiastical, of the doctrine of *No Union with Slavery*.

Mr. MAY remarked that the Committee decided to express the extremest idea, and he thought it best to divide them into parcels, to elicit the freest discussion.

The PRESIDENT suggested each person be allowed to speak as he chose upon any resolution.

Rev. A. PRYNE, of Oswego, was anxious to see union and harmony among anti-slavery men. It was well to get at a cordial understanding of each other's opinions. He considered that the Liberty Party men generally respected the conscientiousness of the American Anti-Slavery Society. (Gerrit Smith now came in.) He thought Mr. Garrison had not closely brought out the issue between them and the Liberty Party. No Constitution-makers or legislative bodies can make wrong binding. The Garrisonians gave too much weight to their action. Admitting that the Constitution was wrong, and legislation and everything else, yet did it excuse them from taking right measures? We swear to support the Constitution, which, if properly carried out, would abolish slavery everywhere. He demanded—Is it unheard of that slavery is unconstitutional, now that Spooner and Goodell had scattered their doctrines far and wide? Till the *Liberator* was published, anti-slavery was unheard of.

Though the people pronounce the Constitution pro-slavery, is it true in ethics that they are right? If so, the fact that the majority would vote down the anti-slavery men was proof that they were wrong. The fact that legislation under the Constitution is all pro-slavery is no more proof that the Constitution itself is pro-slavery than that because the Bible has suffered a pro-slavery construction, it is therefore a pro-slavery Bible. He was sorry that the anti-slavery men could not cooperate with them in electing men who would act in consistency with Freedom. They should support the true ruler, the Heaven-appointed Governor; and if they regard the Constitution as pro-slavery, elect men who would not swear to support it. Do like Daniel O'Connell, who was repeatedly elected to Parliament and refused to take the oath, till at last he was allowed to take his seat without the oath. Elect Mr. Garrison to Congress, and let him refuse to take the oath. Return him again and again, till he can have his seat without so doing.

Mr GARRISON said the issue with him was, whether he would swear to support what he viewed as wrong. He would not do it, and therefore must do without the office. He could not see with the eyes of his Liberty Party friends, and therefore could not walk in their footsteps. He did not believe that Government was a nose of wax which each one could pinch to his own form. It was a Procrustean bedstead. No Government, constituted as ours is, can live with a conscience. It would be chaos come again. Our fathers were shrewd men, and were determined to evade such conclusions. Thence the Constitution was marked out, provision by provision, article by article. Mr. O'Connell's case did not meet this issue. They who framed our Constitution did not believe slavery to be right; they were villains throughout. That document was very specific. He would not believe that our people, for seventy years, had been so utterly stultified. They knew that the Constitution meant all these things, and only excused themselves on the plea that it was necessary to enable them to sustain themselves against England, and the end justified the means.

Mr. MAY inquired whether, although he himself regarded the Constitution as pro-slavery, and could not hold office under it, he might not aid to elect true men to office, who did not so construe the instrument.

Mr. GARRISON thought that if the doubt kept Mr May from Congress, it should keep him from the ballot-box.

Rev. BERIAH GREEN inquired whether Mr. May, in voting, did not place himself on the same platform with the man for whom he voted.

Mr. MAY said that there were things which the man could do, which he himself could not do; and he questioned whether he could not conscientiously employ him. He pronounced voting an unalienable right, not conferred by the Constitution.

A person inquired whether Mr. May could employ a man to steal for him when he would not steal himself (laughter).

Mr. MAY said that Gerrit Smith, when he swore to support the Constitution, understood himself to be swearing to overthrow slavery; and he would choose to have men in such places who could conscientiously turn their might against slavery.

GERRIT SMITH regretted that the President felt constrained to complain of the action of the Liberty Party.

The PRESIDENT replied, that he had not complained of that. He complained that the Liberty Party men had not respected their consciences, when urging them to vote. He felt to say that if the Liberty Party could carry out their views, let them do so. We are to have lively times yet. The Liberty Party construction was laughed at all over the country. They thought they had found a Union by their mode of construing the Constitution; while the Liberty Party Convention held here yesterday, if held South of Mason's and Dixon's line, would result in having them all lynched. That was the Union they had got.

The Convention now took a recess till 2 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

After reassembling, a hymn was sung by the audience.

The resolutions were again read by Mr. May.

The PRESIDENT, after inviting all to speak irrespective of opinions, congratulated the large assembly before him that no one was disposed to take pro-slavery ground, which was evidence of progress.

Rev. Mr. FOSS, of New Hampshire, remarked, that they did not differ in regard to the sinfulness of slavery. The people of this country were pro-slavery, and it is impossible to obtain an anti-slavery Constitution and an anti-slavery Government from a pro-slavery people. Slavery was the inoculation of the Government; the virus went into the body politic and would remain there till the body dies. It controls the Government in all its parts. In the first treaty made under the Constitution, which was with the Creek Indians, it contained provisions for the return of fugitive slaves. That treaty was violated. The Indian, debased as he was, could not return his flying brother into the horrors of slavery. He had not been corrupted by a constitution and theological dissertations. A hundred thousand dollars due the Indians were accordingly withheld from them to pay the value of those fugitive slaves, and paid the slaveholders two or three times what the negroes were worth. Besides, this $150,000 were also appropriated to repay slaveholders for the loss of children not yet born! The makers of our Constitution had no power to bind him. He was born without their consent, and was not bound by their action. Hence he had a right to repudiate their action, and abide the consequences. Mr. Garrison and Gerrit Smith were great lights. They shine differently, it is true; but they *shine* (cheers). He did not now regard that every man who swore allegiance to the Constitution was perjured. Charles Sumner took the oath to support it as he understood it; and with that assurance he felt safe. Joshua R. Giddings, whom he much respected, so preferred the law of 1793, that he would consent to vote for it for an exchange. But what availed it that we had trial by jury and habeas corpus, if the slave, after all, went back? One U. S. Commissioner was as good as a jury. Loring was smooth-faced and plausible, and the assurance had been given that he would not give up Anthony Burns; and he had a wide opportunity to escape, yet he delivered Burns to the slaveholders. For one, he would as willingly have one scoundrel as twelve. He owed no spite to the Whigs; nor did he owe them much of anything else. They were just now full to overflowing with anti-slavery. As was said of "bumble-bees," they were always biggest when they were first hatched. Pretty soon they would get down to working size, and, he feared, a great deal smaller. He had fault to find with Free Soilers. For six weeks before election they were full of zeal; but that fairly over, their anti-slavery work was all done up for the year. He had no confidence in politics. In the public mind, politics meant scrambling for office. He said, make the people right, and they could dispense with all these things. * * * *

BERIAH GREEN supposed our great business in this world was to incarnate what is true. Some stand aloof from politics because they regard civil government as sacred and embodying our rights. It was as impracticable to discard civil government as for a woman to reject her child because it has been abased. Mr. Foss seemed to regard the ballot-box and other insignia of government as unholy, associated with injustice. He seemed to think that if he exercised the functions of civil government, it would be wrong, &c.

Mr. Foss intended to say, in answer to a question of Mr. Addington, whether, if things were right, he would vote, that in such a contingency he did not think it would be necessary.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS said that Mr. Foss conveyed the idea that all association with political parties is connected with loss of moral power.

Mr. Foss said that it had been so, as far as he had observed. But he declined, in an Anti-Slavery meeting, to argue the question of civil government.

Mr. GREEN said that then for him (Mr. F.) to argue this question was outside the sphere of this meeting. He differed from this conclusion. It had been said of a certain distinguished person that he did believe in the rightful authority of civil government. He wished to know whether the persons present regarded the idea of civil government as just and proper, or as an abuse.

Mr. GARRISON said that we were here for a specific object, the abolition of slavery. But in regard to the question of civil government, another question is opened which we did not come here to settle. A person might ask whether, supposing there were no pro-slavery features in the Constitution, he would vote. It was extraneous. He would not be willing to confide his welfare to people who would declare war, &c., at pleasure. We do not go off into extraneous matters.

Mr. ADDINGTON—Will you tell how shall we escape from your charge, that voting is wrong?

Mr. GARRISON—I have no controversy on the question of voting, with men who conscientiously believe that the Constitution is an anti-slavery document.

GERRIT SMITH said: Birney had laid down the rule to speak against the man only when it was painful to do so. He was about to speak against Messrs. Giddings and Sumner. He thought less of Mr. Sumner than did Mr. Foss; and no more of Mr. Giddings. Charles Sumner denies the power of the General Government to return a fugitive slave, but believes that a State Government has that power; and supports a Constitution which allows State Governments the power. He takes the good ground of Gen. Jackson, of interpreting the Constitution as he understands it. But he is altogether unsound. While acknowledging the Constitution as a covenant with death and an agreement hell, he yet swears to support it. Br. Foss took the ground that the Liberty Party should abandon its organization, because of the character of the Constitution. He would state his position as follows: Government is altogether Divine—divine in all its phases of self-government, of family government, of civil government. He was denounced, fifteen years ago, for preaching politics, for preaching politics on the Sabbath. He did it because he regarded politics as divine. He had felt amused at an editorial in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, from the pen of Oliver Johnson, noticing his small hope, and *it was small*: of the peaceful abolition of slavery, and intimating that it was owing to his reliance upon politics! He was not mixed up with bad men. In going to Congress, he went there as the exponent of justice, the advocate of civil government in its divine character. The motives with which others went there were nothing to him. He went with his neighbours and voted for just men. He regarded every civil government in existence as a conspiracy against mankind. But the more true this was, the more occasion there was for his activity. He had been blamed, even in Abolition prints, for being courteous with slaveholders. How should he act? Suppose he was to go to a World's Peace Convention, and found one there bearing the marks of licentiousness, and another of drunkenness. Should he not treat them courteously? So did Mr. Garrison this morning, when he invited Whigs and Democrats to this platform, and called them gentlemen. So had he conducted himself in Congress. When the resolutions were read this morning, they sounded like some that were passed at Salem, Ohio, and he was waiting to hear such an one as had been adopted there denouncing himself as a corrupter of the public morals, for employing these courtesies. The people, perhaps, would direct him to call one man a rogue in addressing him, another a cheat, &c. It would soon amount to an absurdity. He had always deprecated divisions between anti-slavery men. But he had never doubted their purity of motive. He would die probably with his, and Mr. Garrison with his, views of the Constitution; yet, they both detested slavery. He did not vote under the Constitution. All that instrument could claim was to direct how to exercise that right. He would have Mr. Garrison and his friends vote at every election for a man true to themselves, true to every just idea of civil government. Let the Garrisonians of this country refuse to swear to support that paper, and they would eventually carry their point. Women were very delinquent, like his friend Garrison. They should crowd to the polls every year, with votes for the friends of freedom in their hands, and insist upon depositing them. He wished that those now present would undertake it, and he desired to witness the result (applause).

Mr. WILBUR, of Washington County, spoke briefly in advocacy of the non-juring policy.

Mr. GARRISON was for using language very definitely and in accordance with popular acceptation. Civil government, as laid down by Gerrit Smith, nowhere existed; and with a nonentity he had no controversy.

Mr. SMITH said true religion might have only an ideal extaience, yet it did not affect his duty to translate it into practice.

Mr. GARRISON said that Mr. Smith, he understood, stood within the United States Government.

Mr. SMITH said he had laboured hard to demonstrate that he did not.

Mr. GARRISON—True, and that is why I am surprised (laughter). Mr. Smith, by his own showing, had no right to go to Congress. The women did not vote to send him there, and he possessed no God-given right to go (laughter). Mr. Smith, if he had his ideal government, would make them all go straight. He himself would as soon have had Senator Douglas.

Mr. SMITH—You do not believe in civil government.

Mr. GARRISON—True: this idea of blood, putting a bullet through a man's head; is marvellous uncivil (laughter). According to Mr. Smith, there was no civil government in existence. I do believe in government. A man with a *posse comitatus* at his heels was badly governed. The man who has the kingdom of God within him is the only man who has government. Indeed, I believe I am almost the only government man in the house (laughter). We change by progress from year to year. If my position now was what it was seventeen years ago, I would have been pro-slavery; yet I was not pro-slavery then. I was then in a church from which I did not expect to be dissevered. But I found it thoroughly pro-slavery; I cut it off as my right hand and went about teaching that men should have but one hand and that a left one. Next came politics. I lived in Newburyport, an old federal town, and, like other young men, regarded the welfare of the country as depending upon the town elections. Theology had never saved him. His Bible was the slave. And now he would ask his friend Gerrit Smith whether the three-fifths clause in the Constitution did not and was not intended to have special reference to slave representation.

Mr. SMITH replied that he did not regard that as the intention of the framers of the Constitution. The question whether slavery got there—(after going on at length, Mr. Smith took up the clause relating to fugitives from service and labour).

Mr. GARRISON asked if the same principle did not apply to the Fugitive Slave law.

Mr. SMITH—When this bill was enacted, it was said on all hands that it had special reference to the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the clause was introduced into the Constitution of 1787 and revised, the word service was substituted for servitude, because the word servitude referred to slavery. It could not be true, therefore, that that section referred to that relation (cheers).

Mr. GARRISON—Then we have no Fugitive Slave law.

Mr. SMITH—No; you and I there agree.

Mr. GARRISON—Do you consider that the Constitution did not authorize the slave trade?

Mr. SMITH—It was an agreement to abolish the slave trade.

Mr. GARRISON—It was a diabolism, an infamous agreement.

Mr. SMITH was about to explain, when cheers announced the arrival of WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, whom Mr. Garrison announced as a fugitive from this land of liberty, from the action of this government, such as we now have.

Mr. SMITH—We are all glad to welcome him. Congress is vested with the power to regulate commerce. And the slave trade was forbidden to be inhibited.

Mr. GARRISON interrogated as to the three-fifths clause.

Mr. SMITH defined it to be a disfranchisement, a penalty upon slavery.

Mr. GARRISON pronounced it an infamous diabolism. The clause relative to the slave trade was not anti-slavery. It was voted for by slaveholders. They never did an anti-slavery act. They never consented to the inhibition of slavery till American slave-breeding could supply the market. The three-fifths clause added power to slavery.

Mr. SMITH pronounced it an objection. Every man should count a man.

Mr. GARRISON objected to it on that account. After some interlocution, he declared that we had now no remedy from slavery but revolution (cheers).

Mr. SMITH said it was contemplated by the framers of the Constitution that slavery should be abolished, as would have been the case but for the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton-gin.

Mr. PRYNE said the three-fifths clause would allow us an equal chance. Anti-slavery voters would have the benefits of it, if they lived in those districts.

Mr. GARRISON said verbal criticisms were out of place, when we had stern facts to deal with.

Mr. SMITH demanded of Mr. Garrison to answer the objection that "no one shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." If our fathers meant to continue slavery, why was attainder prohibited? What is attainder, but the enslaving of posterity till the remotest generation?

Mr. GARRISON asked why that clause was put in?

Mr. SMITH—No matter; it is there. We are examining a legal paper, and must never look behind the record. The language must speak for itself.

Mr. GARRISON insisted that strength was wasted by these technicalities.

Mr. SMITH asked whether the slave was acknowledged as a person in the Constitution.

Mr. GARRISON said he was.

Mr. SMITH was glad of that admission. No person could be deprived of liberty without due process of law. Suppose slavery had been abolished in all the States, then the shiploads of negroes set upon the shores of Carolina had been freemen. Would Mr. G. scrutinize motives and thoughts?

Mr. GARRISON insisted that they must be. If Mr. Green and he agreed each alternate day to save a life, meaning to destroy one, the meaning they employed was what the compact meant. So with the Constitution.

Mr. SMITH—How are third parties to understand?

Mr. GARRISON—There is no third party. The people are in permanent session.

At this moment a person announced as on sale the portraits of Messrs. Sumner, Garrison and Smith.

Mr. GARRISON—Mr. Smith will unite with me that these are the penalties of notoriety, brickbats, rotten eggs and pictures (laughter).

Recess till evening.

EVENING SESSION.

At 7 o'clock the meeting was called to order by the President. Despite the admission fee, the house was well filled—the crowd being large.

An ode, read by Rev. Mr. Pryne, was sung by the assembly.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND first took the stand. Slavery has its day. I wish that day was past. I cannot. I am here to hate slavery for the principle it involves, which it is based upon. I feel so for the memory of Washington, the Adamses, Hancock, Otis, Hamilton and Jay. I feel so because I am an American. I am not here to wish slavery abolished after the manner of the church. I am not here to wish it abolished after the manner of commercial men. I am here to wish it abolished at once, and without regard to consequences. Slavery is about to play its last and most devilish card. It will be something worse than the Nebraska Bill. The territory of slavery is extending. The number of slaves is increasing. What shall we do in our anti-slavery capacity? Our old policy, I am satisfied, is the most efficient. The discussion we have had this afternoon has aided to confirm me. I know there is a power behind the Constitution stronger than the Government. The rendition of Anthony Burns displayed the magnanimity, the love of justice, of the most enlightened people of New England. Every citizen of Boston knows that Anthony Burns was arrested under a lie. He was kept under a lie. He was rendered up under a lie. If a coloured man can be arrested, and detained, and delivered up under such circumstances, it shows how strong American slavery is in the heart of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Where else can a man be seized, tried and rendered up under such circumstances? So far from advocating the anti-slavery character of the Constitution and Government, it is better for us to to see how far there is freedom in our atmosphere. Slavery is rife and all-powerful in old Massachusetts. I have been pained by everything I have heard this afternoon of the anti-slavery character of the American Constitution. What if freedom is paramount a hundred years hence, when the Constitution is pro-slavery to every coloured man now? I am a man as well as Frank Pierce; and he is as much one as I, if he behaves as well (applause). I was walking to-day in Syracuse with two friends, a man and woman; and we met a well-dressed white man, white creature. He turned in the direction of three white men, and said—"Can you stand that? That woman cares more for that damned nigger than for that white man." That is Americanism. I stand in Syracuse, a place proverbial for its anti-slavery sentiment. And yet, walking on one of your side-walks, trying to behave myself as well as any one, I was in that creature's mind but a "damned nigger," after all. (Wilson Miller asked a question.) I like to speak of my native State. Plymouth Rock is there, Bunker Hill is there, Lexington is there, and white men are there who dare not touch a negro with a ten-foot pole. I prefer to be born to the estate of a slave than to be a white man, wealthy and intelligent, who, going South of Mason and Dixon's line, has no more rights than I have. I would rather be a slave born in involuntary slavery than be compelled, as voluntary slaves are, when a slaveholder comes in their neighbourhood, to rush to do his bidding, and drag men into helpless serfdom.

Mr. GARRISON informed the assembly that Anthony Burns was still in prison at Richmond. His market price when in Boston was $800. At Richmond, Col. Suttle offered him for $1,200. That sum was raised. But Col. Suttle then demanded $1,500. They who raised the $1,200 refused to increase the amount, as they had no doubt he would increase it still higher. Disgraced as he felt, as an American, Mr. G. said he felt to exult when, sitting in Court street, he saw the cannon wheeled down, loaded to the muzzle, and 2,000 soldiers, false to the laws of their State, aiding to do the deed. When Sims was taken, he was carried off skulkingly; but to take away another man, which he did not think would be attempted, it would require 4,000, and the proclaiming of martial law.

WM. WELLS BROWN was now introduced to the audience. In despotic Europe, he declared, more was being done to ameliorate the condition of the people than in America. (He traced the progress of emancipation in England from the Norman conquest.) They have the labours of Clarkson, of Wilberforce, of Buxton, of Canning, and, last of all, George Thompson (cheers). A man asked me—"Did I not believe the English labourers were worse off than the American slaves?" I wish almost that they had a fugitive slave law to catch every American coming to that country. I have travelled from Liverpool to Yarmouth, from John O'Groat to Land's End, and nowhere have I witnessed such misfortune. In one place, English workmen struck for higher wages, and lived 18 months. Now, who ever knew of American slaves striking for higher wages?

REMOND—Except when they strike for Canada.

BROWN—Thank my friend Remond. I wish they would all strike for Canada. Freedom is progressing here; but slavery is progressing also. The cause of Freedom is progressing faster in England than here. The mass of the people, as far as the Government is concerned, is going backward. Since slavery was first admitted into the Constitution, and the efforts to spread slavery over new territory and old territory, the general tendency of this Government was to extend and perpetuate slavery. Born in slavery, as I was, I have felt its influence. When I went to England, it was not to remain five years. But the Fugitive Slave law was passed, and my friends advised me to remain. It was found that my master had arranged for my arrest. I might have safely remained in any despotic government of Europe. But some charitable friends in England raised money and removed his claims. There is less liberty here than in England. This is not the land of the free and the home of the brave. When the people here talked of the Fugitive Slave law as the cement to keep the Union together, it was laughed at all over England. No person's memory was more despised there than that of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, particularly the latter, for his efforts for that law. The rendition of Anthony Burns filled England with astonishment. They had thought that Massachusetts was a free State. A few years ago, a slave-owner could go to England and preach there. He could not now. A minister went there to attend an anniversary, and had kept back his credentials till the last. On going up, he went up to the meeting and tendered his credentials, and was told by the clerk that he could not be admitted to a seat in the convention (cheers).

Mr. GARRISON—That individual was Rev. Dr. Prime, of the *New York Observer*, and he got a prime reception (cheers).

Mr. BROWN—Alexander Pope said the way to have a correct public sentiment was to have a correct private one. The first paper I took up on my return was a letter from a clergyman to a slaveholder. It is, however, only such men as this Boston minister that are so far behind the times in relation to this great subject. English people like to see these questions pressed. The condition of the slaves of this country, with all that I have read, satisfies me that the half has not been told of the evils of slavery. Talk about exaggerating the evils of slavery, when a mother is exposed for sale upon the auction-block, separating wives from husbands, and children offered for sale by their own father, and he a professor of the Christian religion.

Mr. GARRISON interrupted Mr. Brown as to what is called colourphobia, how they regard coloured persons in Europe.

Mr. BROWN—As far as the subject of prejudice is concerned, I think it originates in slave States because slavery exists there. When going out, I was looked down upon. I went to Ireland, and remained some 15 days, and then went to Paris, to attend the World's Peace Convention, to which I was a delegate, and found many of them there. I waited upon Victor Hugo, and was very cordially treated by him. One of those men, who had never spoken to me and never meant to do so, came up to me and said, "How do you do, Mr. Brown?" (Laughter.) I told him he had the advantage of me. He told me he was a fellow-passenger, and added, "Will you not introduce me to Victor Hugo?" I replied that I did not feel at liberty to introduce to Hugo persons whom I knew nothing about. At the *soiree*, I was introduced to the Minister, and, when he was told that I was an American fugitive slave, he asked to be introduced a second time, which was done. He conducted me to his lady, with whom I conversed above an hour. Judge Walsh and others looked darkly at me, but it did not deter him from treating me courteously. When I could not return home because of the Fugitive Slave law, I sent to bring over my daughters. Here they could get admission into no school but those of low character. There they were admitted into good schools, and were afterward admitted into good places as teachers, and were received with favour everywhere. Nowhere did I witness prejudice against a person because of colour. But in no steamer which touches an American shore can a coloured man obtain a first-class passage. Get out from under the stars and stripes, and prejudice against colour is not known. It is prejudice against condition, not colour; only the colour is a mark to instance the condition.

Mr. BLOSS, of Rochester, followed, detailing a scene at a butc

A daughter had been attracted by "him." The old man urged him to stop and remain a season with him; that it would be agreeable to him and particularly to his daughter. The "young man" declined; came on to Washington; met difficulty there about getting the "boy" off; but finally got on to Philadelphia, whence he and the speaker went on to Boston. Shortly after, the Fugitive Slave law was passed, and the noble pair was compelled to flee to England from this "land of the free and the home of the brave." (Mr. Brown recounted the murderous affair in Wilkesbarre at length.) When I arrived at Philadelphia, in the City of Manchester steamer, I took rooms at some distance; and having occasion to go to the steamer, and trying to get on board an omnibus, I was compelled to get out. I had forgotten that I was in Republican America.

Mr. Brown now recounted an effort he made to go on a train, when he was ordered out of the passenger cars. He refused and was forced out. He took his passage on a freight car, astride a flour barrel. Here the conductor came and demanded full fare. Brown refused, as he had no place in the passenger car. It was compromised by the conductor taking him for 150 lbs. freight.

Hon. LEONARD GIBBS, of Washington Co., the Counsel of Jerry when before Commissioner Sabin, was now introduced. He commenced by relating an interview he had had, twelve years since, with Rev. Theodore S. Wright. Mr. W. related how he had suffered the night of his marriage, when he was compelled to take a deck passage on a Hudson River steamer in a storm. Mrs. Wright took a cold, which soon hurried her to her grave. "This," said Mr. Gibbs, "made me feel as though I had all my life-long neglected my duty to my coloured brethren. Is this prejudice an emanation from God? Do you read it in your Bible? No! I heard Mr. Remond last night and was forcibly impressed that it was time to commence our duty now. My acquaintance with your citizens commenced under the singular circumstances connected with the arrest of Jerry. I met noble men here then. I met noble women here. Since that, Syracuse has been associated in my mind with grateful memories. I was enabled to hold back the minions of law till the friends of freedom had time to organize their movement. Yet, with all this, I must declare that Syracuse is not a free city. Loguen abides here only by sufferance. His master has a right to take him back without papers, as was attempted in Illinois. I would advise you not to boast that Syracuse is a free city, but to make it one. Let the fugitive have rest in your borders. I learned in Illinois that the rescuers were arrested. From Buffalo I wrote to Gerrit Smith, that I feared our friends in Auburn had done wrong in giving bail. They should have gone to jail, and left it for the people to tear the prison down. If New York will let the Fugitive Slave law be enforced, let her pay the expense. The prisoners could walk out and go home, and there wait to be rearrested. Thus see to it how long the people would allow this; and let the military come out to keep them in confinement. I do not wish to urge to acts of violence; but, like Mrs. Wells, I prefer the death of twenty kidnappers to the return of one slave. I respect my non-resistant friends, but my non-resistance is like the faith of the old woman when her horses ran away. They asked her how she felt; she replied, 'I felt my trust strong in God till the breeching broke.' (applause). Then fails my non-resistance. The Conventions used to call for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. Now they ask for a modification. What odds does this make to the slave, so long as he goes back? Does it make the lash bite the less keenly? Is it any difference whether a Commissioner send him back, or whether twelve men do it? What about habeas corpus? A Judge issues a writ and the man is brought over the street; the papers are looked at, pronounced all right, and the man is sent back."

Mr. Gibbs then proceeded to chastise the Commissioner, and did it in the most approved style. "When I went into his office, I found him in a little dirty room, with broken chairs in one corner, and trying to play the magistrate. Before we got through, there were broken chairs in the other corner (applause). All I found him doing was trying to demonstrate whether Jerry was the son of his mother. If he was, he must go into slavery. Yes, that unprincipled man, Commissioner Sabin, was trying to send that man into slavery because he was the son of his mother. Before the abduction of Morgan, they used to impannel Grand Juries as they now do in Wisconsin. The Sheriff selects his own jurymen. It used to be the case here. Suppose you obtain a jury trial for fugitives, you only increase the difficulty. Sabin would issue the warrant, and Allen, the Marshal, would impannel twelve other Allens on a jury, and so, the responsibility being divided, the chances of the slave would be infinitely smaller. * * * * What wrong is there in the Fugitive Slave law if slavery itself is right? I therefore charge it upon the religious teachers of this country for the existence of the Fugitive Slave law, because they have taught that slavery was reconcilable with true religion."

D. S. WRIGHT, of Auburn, asked Mr. Gibbs whether, if the Fugitive Slave law is repealed, Mr. Loguen is any safer?

Mr. GIBBS—He would be in that the public sentiment would protect him. But the Fugitive Slave law will never be repealed till slavery is abolished. The South did not want to dissolve the Union. Witness the case of John Q. Adams when he presented the petition for that purpose. But if we must have slavery or dissolution, I say dissolution. The South, if no terms are made with them now, will succumb. They are not desirous to dissolve the Union. But, when they get Cuba, St. Domingo and Mexico, they will probably kick you out, whether you will or no.

J. W. LOGUEN asked Mr. Gibbs for advice.

Mr. GIBBS did not like to give it. He had a place at Union Village, which, since that law was enacted, he had kept for fugitive slaves. If Mr. Loguen would come there, he would do his best to protect him. When the Fugitive Slave law was repealed he would nail his trap-door down. But if he should advise Mr. Loguen to remain here and he should fall into the hands of the slave-hunter, he himself should feel guilty.

Mr. REMOND would refer to the course of some in the meeting to-day, and to the views expressed by some. He wished not to be considered ungrateful towards any who had advocated the cause of the oppressed, whether of his own colour or another. But, in view of the comparison made here to-day between this city and Boston, he must say that truth was truth, and that justice had not been done to Boston in the remarks made here to-day.

Mr. Remond alluded to the differences to-day between Frederick Douglass and Mr. Garrison. He himself was impartial between them. A change of locality did not alter facts. A time was when things appeared differently in Boston than they now do. When Frederick Douglass made the boast that Syracuse had made Jerry free, while Boston had let Burns go, why did he not state to the audience that, prior to the trial of Burns and Sims, a fugitive named Shadrach was arrested, and a band of feeble men went into that Court House and set Shadrach free. The rescuers were tried and acquitted. If the impression is going about that Syracuse is all right on the anti-slavery question, he must differ. Five hours before Anthony Burns was carried off, word came from Worcester that if a thousand muskets were necessary to rescue Burns, they were ready. The impression had been scattered that Commissioner Loring would set that man free; and but for that, Burns, he believed, would have been liberated. The Government sent word that troops would be sent, if desired, to enforce the rendition of Burns. If Syracuseans, under such circumstances, would have achieved a rescue, he would like to know it. He would do justice to Syracuse, but denied that injustice should be done to Boston. Mr. Douglass gives us to understand that prejudice against colour does not exist in Rochester. He overstates. Are coloured men in the Jury box? Are they in business with other men? No! Where are my rights? I know no difference between Rochester, Syracuse and other cities. My friend Loguen will not deny that we are liable to disabilities here to-day. In Eastern Massachusetts, in Essex, coloured people may pass on all the conveyances. We are eligible to office; but what is it, when public sentiment forbids us to be elected? There is a law which forbids the mail bags to be touched by any but a white man. Thus the United States denies our citizenship. In Syracuse and Rochester, this is the case. The white man is considered a citizen and entitled to the rights of an American. In what does patriotism consist if it does not in being protected abroad? I am about to assume that the most genuine patriots here are black men. They have exhibited as much courage and energy as the white man, without his incentives. The white man has the soil to contend for; the coloured man has not. Office is open to the white man; to the coloured man no such hope exists; yet when your country's liberties were in danger, no one had shown more readiness in the struggle than had the coloured man. I claim to be a man, not on my coloured skin, not upon my curled hair, nor upon my flat features, but from possessing the virtues of a man. I ask my rights because I am willing to concede to you the rights possessed by an American citizen. While I may differ with friends here, I ask you to accept the truth for its own value, without reference to local pride or any other consideration. Some think anti-slavery about large enough to secure the coloured men their rights; I do not; slavery is as busy now as it was twenty years ago. The aristocrat in Salem is as bitter against us now as formerly. I conclude that a fugitive slave in Salem is as much liable to be retaken as in Boston. The little republic of Hayti is to be blotted out. I regret it. I had hoped that some spot would remain where the coloured man could stand safe, and property in man was not acknowledged. When it is blotted out, there will no such place exist. Because I am an American, because I desire to see my country free, I utter these sentiments. Is there not a plague-spot which may prove fatal?

Mr. GARRISON would speak a parting word. Though we may have observed among the friends of the cause great differences as to the best modes of abolishing slavery; yet the sign of progress was that not one had appeared to apologize for the slaveholders. It showed that the revolution was going on. When Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, signed the Declaration of Independence, he said, "we must hang together, or we shall all hang separately." So with us. We must not be divided into Liberty Party, Garrisonians and Free Democrats, when the South is united. Their house united will stand; ours divided will fall. Let our anti-slavery be No. 1; our party and sect No. 100 (cheers). We have only to say to slaveholders that the conditions they require of us require us to deny our manhood, to stain our conscience and deny our God, and therefore cannot be complied with. In his judgment, the Bible is against slavery; Christianity is against slavery. Every anti-slavery man is of necessity a Disunionist. An Abolitionist and slaveholder—what union can there be between them? He stood with the price of $5,000 on his head, offered by a Southern Legislature, and what was the Union to him? Gerrit Smith thinks he can, by verbal construction, make the Constitution anti-slavery. But when he has done it, he can make no one believe it. John Quincy Adams declared that the Slave Power would not accept the Constitution till they had obtained three conditions—the 20 years slave-trade, three-fifths clause and the stipulation to surrender fugitives. It was a combination of riches and slavery. It was an outrage upon a man's understanding to call such a government a Democracy.

After Mr. G. had concluded, the Society adjourned, *sine die*.

The Reporter has laboured to do justice to the several speakers, without partiality or malice. It would have pleased him to be more explicit and full; but a great deal of difficulty always must exist where short-hand is not practiced.

JERRY RESCUE CELEBRATION.

THE third anniversary of the *hegira* of Jerry was celebrated at Syracuse on Saturday, and from the brief accounts which have reached us, the occasion seems to have been a very satisfactory one. Coming upon the heel of the meeting of the American Society and the Liberty Party Convention, it brought to a point the gathered zeal and interest of the two preceding days, and made a sort of practical comment upon the principles which during that time had been promulgated and enforced. We regret to hear that Mr. F. Douglass took the opportunity to make an onslaught upon the non-resistants, moved thereto probably by the fact that Mr. Garrison was present—a thing as impertinent and uncalled-for, as if he had impugned the principles of Friends by questioning the wisdom of their non-resistance because he saw a straight-bodied coat in the assembly before him. The number of persons in the country who question the right of resisting force by force, we take it, is very small—too small altogether to raise any apprehension that on that account any slave will ever be taken back to bondage; nor can we conceive of any good motive which could possibly prompt the raising of any such question in a meeting called together to commemorate the rescue of a fugitive unattended by personal injury to any body, and where no greater force was used than the breaking open of a door. The real practical non-resistance of the country which leads a crowd to stand idly by, and see with indifference a fellow-creature consigned to a fate which any one of them would rather die a thousand deaths than suffer, and the morality which leads to the support of a political system which not only permits, but enjoins, such an outrage, is the only sort of non-resistance that need be feared.

Among the letters read to the Convention the two following were read:

LETTER OF H. W. BEECHER.

BROOKLYN, Sept. 23, 1854.

DEAR SIR: I shall not be able to be with you in the celebration which you propose for Sept. the 30th. I would be, if it were possible.

In another period, when slavery shall have been rolled away, and men have recovered from the insanity with which it affects all who touch it or apologise for it, such outburst of popular enthusiasm for personal liberty will be remembered with honour.

The dry prudence of souls that regard the public prosperity to lie in its outside peace, and in material wealth; the expediency and tergiversations of men from 1850 to 1854, will be, at a day not far distant, spoken of as we speak of morals and virtue at the courts of the Charleses.

I rejoiced in the rescue of Jerry at the time that it happened. I have never repented of that joy. And I am free to say that I wish the public sentiment of the masses of men in the North, were such, that no fugitive from slavery could ever be regained. I would have the indignation of the public mind against prowling slave-hunters, such that they would be met in our highways and streets just as a fox would be sneaking for game; or a wolf ravening for prey.

The men who rescued Jerry are, some of them, personal acquaintances of mine. In their dying hour, I believe this act of generous endeavour for the liberty of a poor and despised creature will be to them like a solacing angel.

I am respectfully yours, H. W. BEECHER.

LETTER FROM HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

BOSTON, Sept. 28th, 1854.

DEAR SIR: I cannot be with you at Syracuse according to the invitation with which I have been honoured; but I shall rejoice at every word uttered there which helps to lay bare the true nature of Slavery and of its legitimate offspring the Fugitive Slave Bill.

That atrocious bill has no sanction in the Constitution of the United States or in the law of God. It shocks both. The good citizen, at all personal hazard, will refuse to obey it.

Yours, very faithfully,

CHARLES SUMNER.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CLV.

THE ARGUMENT—Annexation at Boston—Northern Area of Freedom—Proposed Union of Boston and Charlestown—Reasons given for it—The Correspondent on the character of Boston—And on the Nomenclature of Real Estate—The political reasons—The former owners of Boston—Unfortunate break in precedents—The Mystery of the Know-Nothings—How it is no Mystery—Speculations as to their intentions—Alarming spread of Ignorance—Opinions of Socrates on the subject—Also of Gray—The Correspondent avoideth Scan. Mag.—The Democratic Convention at Lowell—Democracy and Silver Spoons—The Correspondent disparageth his letter—&c., &c.

BOSTON, October 2, 1854.

SINCE I wrote to you last, we have been agitating our little favourite scheme of Annexation. And why not? May not the Area of Freedom be enlarged in any direction except Southwards? We have been directing our attention towards the North (I believe it is North, but I never was good at geography) and coveting the lands of our neighbour, Charlestown. There have been plans for the Union of these two cities, separated only by the River Charles, at sundry times; but always without success. Last winter the Legislature passed an act allowing the intermarriage, if the parties were all agreed and nobody forbid the banns at the prescribed times of asking. So, last week, the citizens of Boston acted on the question, and by a large majority of those voting agreed to the proposition. But the vote was a very small one, only about a quarter of the legal voters thinking it worth their while to take the trouble to vote either way. To-day, Charlestown votes on the question, and, I am told, there is like to be a much larger vote, and a more serious opposition, than there was here.

There are various reasons given for this measure—or rather for its being urged at this time. Some say that there are certain land speculations on foot which the promoters think would be benefitted by the land being christened Boston instead of Charlestown. They think, what is unquestionably true, that there is a great deal in a name, Miss Capulet to the contrary notwithstanding. But, for my part, I should prefer, were I a Charlestown man, the good old name which is historical from its conflagration and its battle-field, and be slow to change it for the degraded one of Boston, unless that city should first of all break its present pragmatic Mayor, disband its Sims Brigade and bring forth fruits worthy of old Sam Adams, as a condition precedent of the alteration. But, virtuous as a name is, I do not particularly see how calling the municipality in which a good piece of real estate lies by one name rather than another can affect its value in any way. Its value is made up of its availabilities for certain purposes and uses, and one who wanted it for its value thus constituted would not be likely to care in what town it lay.

But it is said that there is another reason for this movement at this time, and that that is a political one—having for its object a change in the ruling influence of Boston. Boston, as you know, has been generally, for many years, a close borough, owned by a handful of wealthy or otherwise influential gentlemen, who, with their legs under a single mahogany, used to settle the destinies of the city, and appoint its rulers to be viceroys under them. This was broken in upon, to be sure, at the last election, which resulted in the election of the puissant Medicine-man, who put us all at the mercy of his Apothecary, when he proclaimed Martial Law that poor Burns might be taken *peaceably* back to slavery. The change, so far, has not been much for the better, it must be owned. But, perhaps, they will do better next time. It is said that the belief obtains that this predominance over Boston was maintained through the Irish voting by the direction of their Bishop, and that it is therefore that the wish exists to overcome this element by bringing in the larger native vote of Charlestown. But, then, again, others affirm that the proportional foreign vote of Charlestown is quite as great as that of Boston. *Quien sabe?* Time will show.

Of course, this plot, in this shape, is laid upon the shoulders of that mysterious order, the Know-Nothings. The doings and intendings of these Sons of Darkness make one of the chief topics of talk in these parts, just now. Whether they intend taking up either of the candidates for Governor now in the field, or whether they propose setting one up for themselves, and the prospects of the political Dalgettys who have taken service under that flag, excite a good deal of interest in all circles. For, notwithstanding the profound mystery which is supposed to envelope all their proceedings, everybody seems to know all about all and singular of them. People seem to know their plans and probabilities, and who they are, and what they expect, quite as much as they do those of the other parties. Some say that they will, very likely, take up General Wilson, the candidate of the Republican party, the residuary legatee of the Free Democracy, recently deceased, or translated, at least. But these are secrets into which I am not admitted. I am one of those quiet spirits that are content to wait until after election before I know who is to be Governor.

If folks don't lie (which, to be sure, they are very apt to do), the ranks of political ignorance are growing at an alarming rate. It is fearful to think how many there are in this land of Schools and Colleges, who openly boast that they know nothing. And it is said that their ranks are daily swelled by new converts who are willing to make themselves fools, so they can save some promotion, that may be going a begging. The Socratic School is clearly on the increase, from the numbers that flock to it, declaring that

"All that they know is, Nothing
Can be known!"

Who are of one mind with the poet in the opinion

"Where ignorance is bliss,
'Tis folly to be wise!"

The bliss of a politician, of course, is the Paradise of Officeholding, and if it is only to be entered by the *open Sesame* of "I don't Know-Nothing," the true saints will not hesitate to stultify themselves for the general good of mankind. I am afraid to tell you the names of some of the neophytes that common rumour says have been received into the new church. I should be afraid of committing *Scandalum Magnatum*—a thing which I never do.

The Democrats have had a Convention at Lowell, which was no unworthy pendant of the one your Democrats held at Syracuse. The Nébraskality was the dividing point, and the fight was very well maintained by Mr. Usher, of Medford, on the right side. But the Convention was altogether too well packed to leave much doubt of the result. The Nebrascals prevailed by a majority of about thirty in a Convention of near five hundred. This was not much of a victory after all. Especially, as many towns were not represented, for what reason I cannot tell. It is the first time for several years that the hunker factions have had the control of the Democratic organization, though they have often had a dog-in-the-mangerish power of bothering its operations in the State, through the influence of the General Government. Many of the Anti-Nebrascals will be apt to vote with the Know-Nothings, if they make a nomination to suit them. And the Nebrascals won't care if they do, as it will leave so much the fewer competitors for the treasury pap. The fewer spoons, the more for those lucky fellows that were born with silver ones in their mouths. And there are several such here as well as elsewhere, and who take special good care never to let them drop. I must stop here, as the post is just starting. I really think that *this* is a letter the good name of which even your late Corresponding Editor will feel no temptation to filch from me. D. Y.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.—A Syracuse paper states that sixty-one fugitive slaves have passed through that city since the 1st of January last. If this be an index to the number passing at other points, the sum total of escapes for the current year must be much larger than ever before; and that undoubtedly is the fact.

From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

The Ohio Elections—Anti-Nebraska Sentiment—Methodist Conference—Colonization and the Coloured People—Horticultural Exhibition—The Crops, Trade, &c.

CINCINNATI, Sept. 30, 1854.

OUR State elections are so near at hand it will be of little use to speculate as to the results. They will soon be known and read of all men. But the remark may be made that this campaign has been an unusually quiet one. There have been but few public meetings through the State, and none of the "noise and confusion"—the torch-light processions, the stump-speaking, and various claptraps—so usual in our electioneering campaigns in former years. It is a common remark, "What a quiet time we have before our fall election." And yet never were there more important principles to be decided by the voters of this State, nor greater interests at stake, nor a full vote more desirable. The people see this, and, though there has been visibly but little excitement, will be as intelligently and resolutely prepared for the contest as in any of those passed. I will venture the prediction that there will be a *very large vote* polled, probably the heaviest ever given in the State. Without an open parade of their power, without being urged forward to duty by campaign papers, the harangues of stump-orators, and the old appliances of politicians hitherto deemed necessary to produce interest and enthusiasm before the election, the people are silently making up their minds, and, marching forward, in solid phalanx, will make their power known and felt on the 10th of October at the polls.

As far as Ohio is concerned, the seal of condemnation will then be placed upon the Pierce Administration and its distinguishing act, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. In this city, the Know-Nothing question seems to be the absorbing one; in some parts of the State, the Temperance or Maine law issue will be made, but the great contest will be in the principles involved in the Nebraska-Kansas bill. The Administration has brought the question before the people; the papers in the enjoyment of government patronage are the only ones which support the Nebraska iniquity; and if the so-called Democratic party meets with a defeat, it will be most undeniably a popular verdict against it. Though not in the strict sense of the term Abolitionists, the vast majority of the people of this State are warmly in favour of the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787, and as decidedly opposed to the extension of slavery over any Territory now free.

The Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is now in annual session here. It embraces nearly two hundred ministers, and is probably as much, if not more, anti-slavery in its sentiments than any Conference west of New England. The subjects of Colonization and the religious instruction of the Coloured people in the Western Conferences are now under discussion. Some time since, a Committee was appointed by one of the Ohio Conferences to make inquiries as to the condition of the coloured people in the West, and propose measures for their moral improvement. This Committee had a meeting in this place last month, and have gone to work in earnest, having made inquiries relative to the number of this class within the limits of the Western Conferences, and resolved to bring the subject before all these bodies. They also propose an interchange of delegates with the Conference of the Coloured Methodist Church, which has an organization and Bishops of its own. The Editor of the *Western Christian Advocate* claims great credit for the labours and influence of Methodism in improving the coloured people morally, intellectually and socially, and thinks the final emancipation of the whole race will be owing, in a large degree, to the instrumentality of the Methodist Church.

As far as my observation has extended, public sentiment in the West among intelligent men of all persuasions is in favour of the education and elevation of the coloured people among us. There are many who encourage their emigration to Liberia as one means of improving their condition, and of demonstrating to the world what they are capable of when removed from the disabilities under which they labour here, and also of aiding in the Christianization of Africa, who yet regard the Colonization scheme as wholly inadequate to the work of removing slavery from among us. At any rate, they disavow all forcible colonization, and give their influence to the elevation of the coloured race both at home and abroad.

In a late letter, I mentioned some of the Societies of the Coloured people here. They have, as is well known, a great fondness for display, and music, and I have now to add that a Coloured Military Company has been formed in this City, and will be soon ready for parade. A military encampment has been held this week, near the city, several companies from a distance being in attendance, and this company of the coloured people was visited and drilled by several officers from Louisville, who spoke in high terms of their discipline. As one of the peace men, I cannot but hope that no war may ever occur to test the "patriotism" of this company, but that holiday parades may be the extent of their demonstrations.

I cannot but remark that the tone of the Press, both religious and secular, in regard to the rights and elevation of the coloured race is evidently improving; the tide of public sentiment is setting, slowly but surely, in the right direction, and the time will most certainly come when the odious "black laws" passed through the tact and party discipline of political leaders will be swept from the statute-books of those Northern States they disgrace.

The main feature of attraction in our city just now is a most extensive and magnificent exhibition of the Horticultural Society of this place, far surpassing, in extent and beauty, anything of the kind in the West. For some years past, there have been two fairs held in a year, one in the Spring and the other in the Fall, in one of our public halls, but it has been determined to have but one each year, to hold it in the open air under tents, and to make it worthy of the Society, and the city. This exhibition is held in a large enclosure adjoining the Orphan Asylum, in the northern part of the city, and has certainly been gotten up in a spirit of liberality creditable to all engaged in the enterprise.

The various articles are displayed under five large, neat tents, each one hundred feet in length. Every variety of plant, flower, fruit and vegetable, of the finest and rarest kinds, are exhibited the tents are hung with tri-coloured drapery, floral wreaths, festoons of evergreens and pictures, interspersed here and there with statues and busts, and brilliantly illuminated at night with gas. A fine band of instrumental performers, hidden from the eye by a screen of foliage in imitation of a forest, entertain the assemblage with delicious music. Your readers cannot fail to see from these brief hints, without a further enumeration of the articles exhibited, what a rich treat we have. To be appreciated, such a scene must be visited. No description can do it justice. No one would think, after a visit to this fair, that there had been a drought. All the choicest fruits, flowers and vegetables seem to have been brought forth in perfection.

We are glad to learn that the crops, after all, will not turn out as badly as was feared. There will still be abundance of food for all and enough for exportation, but prices will be high, especially of vegetables, some kinds of which are not as plenty as usual. The prices of all kinds of marketing are higher here than ever before at this season, and it is expected will be high through the winter, which will bear hard upon the poor. When I look at the gradual rise in our large cities of all kinds of country produce, I am inclined to think a farmer's occupation the most profitable, as well as the most healthful.

We have had several refreshing showers of rain, but not enough to make the Ohio navigable. It is still extremely low, and business dull, the Fall trade having hardly set in. It is seldom that we have a general rise in the western rivers, sufficient for all classes of steamers, before November.

Yours, P.

THE LATE CHICAGO SLAVE-CASE.—Our readers are already advised of all the steps in the last attempt to take an alleged fugitive slave from Chicago—of his seizure in the street—his being bound—his escape—the attempt to shoot him by his captors—of their arrest—and finally of their escape, by legal chicanery, from confinement. The coloured man is now safe in Canada, and his pursuers are equally safe in their home at St. Louis. There the latter have addressed the public in a card, giving their version of the circumstances of the affair. It will be seen—we copy the statement below—that they differ from the witnesses who testified before Justice D'Wolf as to the sequence of events, but not very much as to the events themselves. As they acknowledge the main fact, of the attempt to seize the man on the authority solely which they brought with them from St. Louis, without the aid of any legal process issued at Chicago, their own statement would make the affair bear a rather more gratifying aspect even than it did before. The public were, at first, led to suppose tha. the man escaped by virtue of a good pair of legs, and without aid from any other person. According to this account of the slave-hunters he attempted to shoot one of them, and that the "mob" rescued him from their hands. It is certainly not to be regretted if these were the facts. It would be much to the credit of the Chicago people, if they will permit no kidnapping in their city, and any coloured man on whom such an attempt is made acts a manly and heroic part if he defends his liberty at the expense of the life of any villain who attempts to deprive him of it. We copy the statement from the St. Louis *Republican* of Sept. 26th.

STATEMENT.

We went to Chicago after two fugitive slaves belonging to Capt. Tyler and Mr. Filburn; we had, as we were informed, all the necessary papers and authority to take them wherever we could find them. With that belief we went after them. When we got to Chicago, which was on Saturday night, the next morning (Sunday) we took a walk, not expecting to take the negroes that day if we should find them, but we accidentally met one of the negroes face to face on the street; we had some conversation with the boy, and became satisfied that he was aware of our business, so we came to the conclusion that if we did not take him then we should never see him again. When we arrested him there were but few persons on the street, but the boy gave the alarm, and in less than ten minutes there was a mob of from one to three thousand persons on the ground; we had a considerable scuffle with the boy; he by some means got one of Mr. Buchanan's pistols, and made two or three attempts to shoot him; Grant struck the negro's hand to make him drop the pistol; the mob of negroes and Abolitionists compelled us to let him loose, threatening that if we did not they would take us out and hang us; the boy, by the assistance of the mob, succeeded in getting away from us and ran; we followed him and fired a pistol in the air to frighten him and make him stop; we ran him in a negro house close by, where we saw two or three fugitive slaves belonging in St. Louis; some of the mob came up to us and told us to leave, saying that we, or anybody else, could not take a negro from Chicago.

We then started for the Young America to find the Marshal, to give ourselves up to be put in jail for protection; the reason that we went to the Young America was because we were acquainted with the proprietors, Hulme & White; when we got there we went to Mr. White and told him that the mob was after us, and that we would be obliged to him if he would give us a room until the Marshal should come; he refused to do so; we then told him to show us the back way to get out, which he refused also, saying that we must recollect we were not in St. Louis, that we were in Chicago, and could not come there and catch negroes, at the same time ordering us out of his house; that was Mr. White, of the firm of Hulme & White, of the Bartling Saloon, of St Louis, and the Young America, Chicago; but we did not obey his order until the officers came and took us out and put us in jail; we had a sort of hearing before an Abolition magistrate, and were committed to jail, but held to bail in the sum of $800 to appear in court; they issued subpœnas and gave them to negroes to serve on the witnesses against us, which they did with a great deal of satisfaction; the negroes and Abolitionists abused us shamefully; the white men of Chicago are like angel's visits, few and far between; we could name a few honest white men that we found there, but we will not mention their names at present.

WILLIAM M. GRANT.
GEORGE BUCHANAN.
JOHN BUCHANAN.

Subscribed and sworn before me, this 25th day of September A. D., 1854,

CHARLES E. CADY, Justice of the Peace.

The Governor of Illinois, a Chicago paper says, has made a requisition upon the Governor of Missouri for those fugitives from justice, but it is not at all likely that they will be surrendered.

THE LIBERTY PARTY CONVENTION met at Syracuse on Thursday last and made its nominations for the ensuing election. The only report we have seen, is that sent to the morning papers of this city, by Telegraph, which is necessarily brief; but from it we learn that an attempt was made to secure the nomination of the candidate of the Whigs and the Independent Democrats for Governor, but failed. Mr. Thomas vouched for the anti-slavery principles of Mr. Clark, but it was very properly replied, in effect, that if those principles were of any great value to him there would be no necessity of any such voucher, that a true anti-slavery man would not wait till he was nominated for some high and responsible office before the world was advised of his opinions on so momentous a question as that of slavery.

The leading spirits of the Convention seem to have been those of aforetime — Gerrit Smith, Beriah Green and John Thomas. Mr. Smith entered into some explanation of his Congressional course, which, we presume, therefore, he himself thinks needs explaining.

The ticket nominated, and which makes, if we have kept correct tally, the fifth, is as follows:

For Governor—WM. GOODALL, of New York.
For Lieutenant-Governor—AUSTIN WARD, of Oneida.
For Canal Commissioner—JOHN C. HARRINGTON, of Oswego.
For State Prison Inspector—WM. SHAPSCOTT.

RETURN OF WM. WELLS BROWN.—We had the pleasure of greeting Wm. Wells Brown, on Thursday of last week, on his arrival from England. He had engaged his passage on board the steamer Philadelphia, which was wrecked on the coast of Newfoundland, a few days since, but fortunately changed his ticket, the day before that vessel sailed, for another for the next steamer of the same line. His arrival has relieved his friends of some anxiety, for though no lives were lost on board the Philadelphia her passengers were necessarily exposed to some suffering and much inconvenience.

Mr. Brown appears to be in fine health and spirits, and returns to this country to make it his permanent home. He is a welcome and valuable accession to the working members of the anti-slavery corps.

HOPE DEFERRED.—Our slaveholding brethren may put aside, for the present, the hope that a new field for man-hunting was to be opened for them on the other side of our northern border. The Montreal *Gazette* of the 25th ultimo, says of Mr. Larwill's motion in the Royal Address, to which we alluded a week or two ago, that "those of our contemporaries in the United States who have copied and commented on Mr. Larwill's proposed motion in reference to negroes, will doubtless be gratified to learn that it fell to the floor, not being able to find a seconder, and thus cannot be put on our Legislative Records. Mr. Larwill is singular in his notions, and was coughed down. We can assure our American contemporaries that such doctrines as his will not 'go down' in Canada, and they may take note accordingly."

THE advocates of the Liquor Traffic are making desperate efforts to rally the lovers of the bottle to the support of Seymour for Governor. The Softs hope thus to beat the Hards.

Summary.

The Democrats of Massachusetts have nominated H. W. Bishop and Caleb Stetson for Governor and Lieut.-Governor. The resolutions sustain Nebraska.

Mr. Giddings has completed a lecturing tour of several weeks in Illinois, where he met with large audiences, and was in all cases greeted with enthusiasm.

THE NEW BISHOP OF NEW YORK.—The deliberations of the Episcopal Convention, in this city, last week, resulted in the election of Dr. Horatio Potter, of Albany, to fill the place of Provisional Bishop of this diocese, vacated by the death of Bishop Wainwright.

Gov. Slade arrived in Albany on Friday evening, accompanied by twenty-five young women, on their way to the far West, as teachers, under the patronage of the Educational Society. They are apportioned to Mississippi, Arkansas, Indiana, Illinois, &c. The Society has sent out 400 teachers—some having gone to Oregon, California and Texas.

BACKBONE VALLEY.—The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* says: that the pioneer company to Kansas, under the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Association, have named a valley, embraced in their settlement, with the significant title of "*Backbone*" Valley. We know of a good many politicians, whom we would recommend to emigrate thither.

A FEMALE STEAMBOAT CLERK.—According to the St. Louis *Republican*, there is one feature about the steamer Illinois Belle of peculiar attractiveness—a lady clerk: "Look at her bills of lading, and 'Mary J. Patterson, clerk,' will be traced in a delicate, and very neat style of chirography. The insurance companies, under such an arrangement, will have to come down a fraction on their risks. A lady clerk on a Western steamer! It speaks strongly of our moral progress."

A NEW REPUBLIC.—The Maryland colony in Liberia is now a free and independent State. The new constitution, containing a clause which prohibits the traffic in ardent spirits, was adopted by the people, on the 29th May; and on the 6th June, William A. Prout was elected Governor and B. J. Drayton, Lieut.-Governor. The new Governor was, for many years, Secretary to the late Governor Russwurm.

Our readers will remember, says the *Tribune*, the rescue recently, at Salem, Ohio, of a slave, belonging to one Robinson, of Memphis, Tenn. It seems that when the affair became known at Memphis, a public meeting was held, at which Mr. S. P. Bankhead presided, and a committee of ten prepared resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. The substance of these was, that unless the city of Cincinnatti shall publicly repudiate the action of the people of Salem, the people of Memphis will do their utmost to break off all commercial relations with that city. All slave-holding States are exhorted to do the same. Unlucky Cincinnati!

KNOW NOTHING ANCESTRY.—The Know-Nothings have descended from mighty bad stock. Some of the papers name the notorious Ned Buntline, as the originator; but, according to the 4th chapter, 8th and 9th verses of Genesis, they can claim Cain as the founder of this glorious institution:

"And Cain talked with Abel, his brother; and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel, his brother, and slew him.

"And the Lord said unto Cain, where is Abel, thy brother? And he said, I KNOW NOT."—*Eastern Argus.*

A PARSON'S OPINION.—Parson Brownlow, who ministers to, and enlightens the people of Knoxville, Tennessee, in the capacity both of preacher and editor, says in his paper, the Knoxville *Whig*:

"The true hearted citizens of East Tennessee, and property holders, ought to enter into a league, and whip, black, and ride on a rail, irrespective of age, calling, or family associations, every preacher, citizen or traveller, who dares to utter one word in opposition to slavery, or who is found in possession of an abolition document. These are our sentiments, and we are willing and ready to help others carry them out."

ARREST OF A FUGITIVE SLAVE.—A few days since, the Cincinnati *Gazette* published a statement that two slaves, a father and son, claimed by Henry Sumptall, of Jefferson County, Ky., had made their escape from their master. That paper further relates that the fugitives were pursued to that city, and were apprehended near Cumminsville. The pursuers chased them to College Hill, where George, the boy was captured. Harvey, the father, took to the woods, and escaped, and it was supposed that he had fled to Canada, by the Underground Railroad. But it seems he did not venture to take passage by this line, but concealed himself in a house in Newtown, about ten miles from the city. On Wednesday, one of his coloured pretended friends gave information to the officers, who suddenly visited the house on Wednesday evening, and arrested him, and brought him to this city, and lodged him in the county jail. He was examined before the United States Commissioner, Pendery, yesterday afternoon, and was remanded back to his owners. His arrest has produced much excitement among the coloured people of our city.

THE KIDNAPPERS ABROAD.—Information being received, that one of the U. S. kidnapping Marshals was in town, one evening last week, a public crier announced the fact from the street corners, warning our coloured citizens, and the friends of Freedom to be on their guard. The movements of these Marshals are always suspicious, and it is well to watch the creatures closely. Whether there was any real cause for alarm in the instance referred to, we are not advised, but it is always well to be vigilant and watchful in these days of kidnapping and extradition. We assure the slave-hunters, that New Bedford is no place for them. Our soil has never yet been disgraced and polluted by the step of a successful man-stealing, God-defying scoundrel, who, under the authority of a villanous law, carries into eternal bondage, a man as much entitled to Freedom as any in the land. But there is no doubt, the ruffians are prowling about, gleaning information concerning fugitives, and it is wise to make them understand their presence is known, and their object ascertained.—*New Bedford Standard.*

THE ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR AT WORCESTER.—During the present week, the Anti-Slavery leaders of Worcester have held a Fair at Brinley Hall, in that city, for the purpose of raising funds to carry on the Anti-Slavery agitation. The attendance thus far has been large, especially during the two days of the Cattle Show. It continues open through to-day, and closes this evening. The receipts have been very satisfactory, and will, no doubt, be distributed to the best advantage. Each evening, speeches have been made by different advocates of the cause. On Thursday evening, Wendell Phillips, Esq., delivered an address, which was attentively listened to. He contended with much earnestness, that the responsibility of the sin of slavery should not be thrown upon the Nation, nor upon any State, or party, but that each individual should be made to feel that the weight of responsibility rested with him or her. While each individual undertakes to shirk his or her due share of the responsibility the true spirit of liberty cannot prevail.—*Boston Transcript.*

SLAVES LIBERATED.—The Rev. T. D. Herndon, his wife and two sisters, have liberated forty-eight slaves, who will be sent to Liberia, in November. They will be accompanied by eight free coloured persons, who are connected with them by marriage, and by seven other slaves similarly connected, who will be liberated by different persons, to accompany those of Mr. Herndon. Mr. Thaddeus Herndon will also send out a family of eight slaves at the same time, if the requisite amount of money is raised for the purpose. Their owners are unable to give them anything besides their freedom, and an outfit, and the Colonization Society has undertaken to raise the means of sending them to Liberia.

In order to meet the emergency, the Secretary, Mr. McLain, sent to 426 of his friends a statement of the case, with a call upon them for ten dollars each, by which means he proposed to raise the requisite amount of 4,300 d

Miscellaneous Department.

DEVIL WORSHIPPERS.

A GRIM title enough, and appropriate to many not formally ranked under its heading; but in the present instance meaning nothing more formidable than the Yezidis of Mesopotamia, the worshippers of the Melek Taous, or Brazen Peacock; a peaceful, and, of late, much-persecuted sect of Mohammedans, whose name seems to be the only diabolical thing about them. Their sufferings arose from a matter of conscientiousness against citizenship, and began in this wise:

In eighteen hundred and forty-seven, the Yezidis were, for the first time, included in the Turkish military conscription. Until then, they had never been made nizam, or disciplined soldiers, on the ground of their religion and peculiar observances. For instance, the Yezid is forbidden by his ecclesiastical laws to wear blue; and blue makes part of the Turkish uniform. The Yezid is polluted if he bathes with a Mussulman, and the Turkish soldiers are obliged to bathe weekly, in a body. Many articles of food served out to the Turkish army are unlawful to the Yezid; and various other differences preserved them from military service, until, in eighteen hundred and forty-seven, they and other out-lying sects, were placed on an equality of hardship with the orthodox. The Yezidis resisted being forced into the army. The virtue that lay in long white shirts buttoned to the throat, in white cloaks, white trousers, and black turbans; the sin of blue shirts and open throats, and the terrible Fez cap; were of far greater consequence than obedience to authority, or the sharing of national burdens. The poor devil-worshippers remained true to his faith, if rebellious to his sovereign; but the Turkish recruiting officers carried off or slew the unfortunate zealots, with whose zeal they did not sympathise. In the midst of the oppression and tyranny that fell upon them—men and women tortured, young girls carried off to the Moslem harems, and children sold into bondage—Cawal Yusuf, the head of their preachers, was chosen with others, as a deputation to Constantinople; and, chiefly through the British ambassador's intercession, procured a firman, which secured the uninterrupted enjoyment of all Yezid religious peculiarities whatsoever. Cawal Yusuf and his party rode back to their mountain home with these glad tidings; passing through a country, so beautiful that it might have been the ancient Eden, till they came to the Yezid village of Hamki, where the preacher was received as a saint from the dead. Men, women, and children pressed round him, kissing his hands and face with tears of joy, and all blessing and praising him—man of God that he was among them!

This simple-hearted, gentle-judging, Cawal Yusuf was a very different kind of man to Sheikh Jindi, their peeshamaz, or prayer-leader—an Eastern John Knox—a tall, grave, and stern man, never seen to smile—to whom indeed a jest would have been profanity, and laughter sinful. His eyes burnt like fire from beneath his bushy eyebrows, and his face, brown in tint, was sternly regular in outline. In all manner and appearance he was the very man most fitted to be the prayer-leader to a sect of devil-worshippers, had that sect been what the name implies—defiant of good, instead of timidly propitious of evil. Yet the Yezidis loved this man; for they are exceedingly affectionate to their chiefs and teachers, and Cawal Yusuf and Sheikh Jinda were both almost sacred to them. How affectionate they are, the following anecdote will show. In a foray made by Keritli Oglis Mohammed Pasha against them, he seized, as he believed, Sheikh Nasr, the Yezid high-priest. But Nasr escaped, and his second in spiritual command took his place—the substitution undiscovered by the Turks. This brave fellow bore patiently his tortures and imprisonment; and was at length bought off by Mr. Bassam, who advanced a considerable sum of money, which the inhabitants of a certain district were to refund out of the produce of their fields. Not many English congregations would so mulct themselves, and not many bishops' chaplains would sacrifice their own life and liberty to the release or salvation of their clerical superiors. Yet the Mohammedans hold the Yezidis as worse than all other infidels, because they are not "masters of a book," as the Jews, Christians, Hindoos, and even the Chinese. Their oaths are disbelieved, for, without a Book, who can have a right idea of truth? And, as the "extinguishers of lights," they are said to hold midnight orgies of unparalleled excess. Yet we have seen that, even without that religious necessity, the poor Yezid knows a little of morality and self-sacrifice, nevertheless.

In this journey homeward, Cawal Yusuf was joined by our enterprising countrymen, Mr. Layard; who seems to have been received with equal honours to the preacher himself. Among other marks of attention, they wished him to stand godfather to a child born the night of his arrival in the harem of the young chief, Hassein Bey. Mr. Layard not quite relishing the notion of being godfather to a devil-worshipping baby, compromised the matter, and gave him his name without standing sponsor for his creed. This young Hassein Bey—one of the handsomest youths to be seen in a long summer's day—is a very ideal of an Eastern chief, in his way as fascinating as Sathem the Bedouin. His mother had preserved him among the mountains, after the slaughter of his father by the Hoords. He, Hassein Bay, or the chief, and the priests, never shave, nor marry out of their own order.

By the way, a Yezidi marriage is no trifling matter; at least for the unhappy bride, who, half-smothered beneath a thick veil that envelopes her from head to foot, is kept behind a dark curtain for three long mortal days. In the court-yard below are dancers, story-tellers, musicians, men playing at their games, women shouting the tahlehl and clapping their hands; the brightest sunshine over all in the day, and at night the masheals—large bundles of flaming rags, saturated with bitumen, crammed into iron baskets raised on the poles—casting floods of rich red light on the scene. Arabs, stipped to their waist, shout their war-cries; girls in gay silk robes, and matrons all in white, add their share to the excitement; but the veiled bride must sit out her three days in darkness and in stifling heat. On the third day, the bridegroom is sought for early in the morning, and led from house to house to receive the presents of his friends. Then, placed in a circle of dancers, the guests and bystanders wet small coins and stick them on his forehead as they pass. The money is caught in a handkerchief, which two of his groomsmen hold under his chin. And thus ends the bride's purgatory of darkness and suffocation; and the guests disperse to their own homes, the songs all sung, the masheals all burnt out; and the money all spent.

The Yezid girls dress with great elegance; generally in a white shirt and drawers, over which they wear coloured zabouns, or long silk dresses, open in the front and confined round the waist with a girdle, embroidered, so to speak, with silver pins. Over this a kind of apron, of grey or yellow check, is tied to one shoulder, and falls in front of the gay silk robe. They wear flowers in their hair; and black turbans, wreathed with a single sprig of myrtle, or scull-caps, covered with gold and silver money; and strings of coins, and beads, and old Assyrian relics round their throats. The married women wear only white; their heads and necks covered with white kerchiefs. The girls keep their necks bare.

From marriage to death, though a long, is a natural step; only there is not so much excitement at the last as at the first. When a Yezid dies, his wife comes out to meet the mourners, surrounded by her female friends, and carrying the sword or shield of her husband in one hand, and in the other long locks of her own hair. Her head is smeared with clay, and dust is thrown upon it, just as was done in old Egypt and Assyria many thousand years ago. The corpse is washed in running water, and buried in the presence of a cawal, or priest—the face turned to the north star: for there are strange snatches of an extinct faith in this peculiar sect; and mystic reverence betray a far-off time, when worship for the heavenly bodies and for fire formed the religion of the then wisest of the world.

As Yusuf and his party, bearing the imperial firman, passed from village to village, their way became like a triumphal procession. Youths dressed in their gayest robes, all with flowers or leaves in their turbans; fakirs, in dark coarse dresses and red and black turbans—one with a chain round his neck, in token that he had renounced the world and and all its pomps and vanities; women and children carrying green boughs, and holding jars of fresh water and bowls of sour milk; a bishop and a priest; a chief, armed to the teeth, and wearing a figured Indian silk robe, with a cloak of precious fur—his Arab mare beautifully decorated; a Persian dervish, clothed in the fawn-coloured gazelle skin, and wearing a conical red cap edged with fur, and braided black with sentences from the Koran, or invocations to his patron Ali; horsemen galloping to and fro; footmen discharging their fire-arms—musicians; and women shouting their peculiar cry; these were the accompaniments that surrounded the Preacher and the Frank as they journeyed through the villages and settlements.

Christians are scattered about among the devil-worshipping congregations, in perfect harmony with each other, as fellow-sufferers for the cause of religion. The Christian bishops do not live in a very bishoplike style. One old man and his two priests were found in a low, damp, dirty room, with its one solitary window plastered up with oiled paper; a carpet, in shreds and rags, lay on the rotten floor for the bed; sandy bread, coarse and hard, sour curds, mangy meat and beans, were the jubilee diet—and not too much even then!—and an old woman, like the hag of a fairy tale, was the complement of the prelatic establishment. Here was primitive poverty with a vengeance, if not primitive purity—the social simplicity, if not the religious subtlety, of the early Christians. Yet, with all its poverty, our Armenian establishment may not be unfavourably contrasted with the splendour of more civilised episcopates, where, perhaps, the glare of the world has sometimes put out the light of the Gospel.

One day the party came upon a group of girls, and an old Kurd, baking bread at the entrance of a village. The travellers were hungry, and thought they might break their fast tolerably well here, and better than with the fiery raki, the glass of spirits everywhere presented. "Have you any bread?" they asked. "No, by the Prophet!"—"Any butter-milk?" "No, by my faith!"—"Any fruit?" "No, by Allah!"—the trees were laden down with fruit of the most delicious kind. The old man then took up the queries. "Whence dó you come?" "From afar."—"What is your business?" "What God commands."—"Whither are you going?" "As God wills." With which answer the Kurd was perfectly satisfied; and so gave them a bowl of curds, a basket filled up with the finest fruit, and fresh baked bread.

At one of the villages a good story was told. The Pasha went to Baasheikhah. On the morning after his arrival the Pasha angrily complained that the braying of the donkeys in the village had disturbed his night's rest. The donkeys were incontinently banished. The next morning the Pasha complained yet more angrily of the crowing of cocks. The cocks were slaughtered by the troops. Some hope now of a good nights rest. But the third morning the Pasha swore many a round oath against the infant population of Baasheihah; and to prevent their cries from again piercing the pashalic ears, the children and their mothers were locked up in cellars. But the fourth morning was dedicated to the sparrows. The sparrows had chirped and kept the Pasha awake; so the sparrows were shot and the Pasha was soothed. The fifth morning was terrible. Death to the flies! for they had buzzed about the Pasha's nose. Then the Kiayah, who, as chief of the village, had carried out the governor's commands, touching the beasts, birds, and babies, now threw himself at the Pasha's feet. "Your highness," he said, "has seen that all the animals here—praise be to God!—obey our lord the sultan; the infidel flies alone are rebellious. I am a man of low degree and small power, and can do nothing against them; it how behoves a great viziar like your higness to enforce the commands of our lord and master." The Pasha relished the joke, forgave the flies and left the village. Which was just what all the inhabitants of Baashiekhah wished.

The Yezidi religion is not so dreadful in substance as it is in title. Their Melek Taous—the Brazen Peacock is the symbol of the Evil Principle, which the Yezidis seek rather to propitiate than honour with a special worship. King peacock is the rude image of a bird on the top of a brass or copper stand, somewhat like a candlestick. It is rather more like a Hindoo or Persian idol than a cock or peacock; but it serves as an emblem as well as anything else. They say that the Melek Taous has never fallen into the hands of the Mussulmans, and that it is protected by a special providence, which has preserved it to its votaries in spite of all the dangers to which it has been exposed. If this glory of his faith were to depart, the poor Yezid would feel himself in worse plight than if obliged to wear a blue shirt, or to eat a Turkish mess. The symbolic presence of Satan withdrawn, what further hope could there be of his protection and goodwill?—and his protection and goodwill are grave matters to the Yezidis. They believe that the Devil was, and is still, the chief of the angels; but that he is now suffering punishment for his rebellion to the Eternal will. Yet he will be restored to his former honours in the end, and then he will reward, as now he has power to torment. He must therefore be conciliated, they say, that hereafter he may remember those who paid him honour, and did not turn their faces away from him in the day of his disgrace. There is something touching in this, and of kindness to the fallen; almost equal in simplicity to the Scottish preacher's prayer for the "puir de'il," when he prayed—"but, gude Lord, dinna let him fa' in!" when held over the bottomless pit for an eternity of punishment.

The Kurds have been sad enemies to the peaceful devil-worshippers. The Kurds are rich; their tents are large and luxurious, divided into many compartments by means of cane or reeds prettily worked, bound together with different coloured threads, and covered with gay carpets. The Kurdish carpets are the most celebrated in Turkey. Their clothes are heavily embroidered with gold and silver—the colours generaly deep red, and bright yellow, and black, in stripes; they tinge their eyelids with kohl, and live well and luxuriously. The girls of the Malli tribe are considered the most beautiful of the Kurdish women, and are greatly sought after—a hundred pounds, or twenty purses, being often given for them. They are tattooed by Arab women, who wander from tent to tent for that purpose, and who work with gun-powder and indigo. The operation is performed at the age of six or seven, and an elaborate pattern gains perhaps an extra purse in the matrimonial market. The women show their faces, and eat with the men. Well, these Kurds have been moral enemies of the Yezidis; have razed more valleys, slain more men, and captured more women, than even the Turks themselves, and are dreaded and hated in consequence. Because of the oppressions committed and the dangers in which the Yezidis had lived, their great festival—the pilgrimage to the tomb of Sheikh Adi—had been greatly neglected of late years; but, in the year when Layard was with them, it was exceedingly well-attended. To this pilgrimage the tribes all flocked. The clean white houses of the Yezidi valleys—many standing in their own little gardens, with a stream of running water passing through—emptied themselves of their inmates; all pressing onward to the valley of the tomb of the Sheikh Adi. Every person bathed and put on clean clothes before entering the valley—the men washing in one part of the stream and the women in another—but, unconscious of evil, bathing in the midst of the tribe.

As soon as the pilgrims saw the sacred tomb, each man fired his matchlock and set up his warcry; the women clapped their hands and shouted too; the children mingled their shrill voices in the cries. Almost every one was clothed in white, and wore flowers and leaves in their hair or turbans. The beauty of the women, the varied dresses and countenances of the different tribes as they wound down the sacred valley, the gaiety of the people, and the softness of the scenery, made up a prospect perhaps unrivalled in the whole world—all was so gay, and bright, and innocent. The child-like enthusiasm of the pilgrims was equalled only by their child-like innocence and gaiety, and it was well worth the journey from Mosul to witness only their delight. Sheep were slain and distributed to the poor; members of a herd of white oxen penned near the temple shared the same fate; bread was baked, dried figs and raisins strung in grotesque figures, fresh fruit and sour curds formed the food of most; and then night drooped over the valley, teeming with its mighty congregation of near five thousand souls. As the darkness deepened, torches and fires were lighted, men and women wandered into the forest, carrying lighted masheals in their hands; the red light tossed high about, and every now and then was lost among the trees, then glimmering out through the leaves and across the black branches, producing a magical effect; lamps hung round the white walls of the temple, the priests and elders sitting in the full blaze, with the women of their own order, grouped about; the voices of men and women came up, soft and sweet, from the valley, and laughter and happy childish joy mingled with them; when suddenly all was still—and then a chant, wild, solemn, and majestic, swelled on the air, and soft tones of the flutes and the clash of symbols and of the tambourines blending with the voices. This song, sweet, and low, like a cathedral chant, continued for about an hour, and then gradually changed into a lively air, the musical instruments louder and quicker as the harmony became merrier and the voices swifter. All soon grew into a mere Babel of sounds. The tambourines rung quick and hard, the clash of the symbols, and the wild pourings forth of the flutes, increased both in measure and in energy; the musicians gave way to an excitement that was almost madness; they flung their instruments frantically in the air, and shrieked, rather than sung, and writhed, and strained, and threw themselves into all strange, mad contortions, until both players and singers fell exhausted to the ground. And then a yell, that seemed to pierce the very heaven above, from every tree, and stone, and grassy plot, and from the banks of the rippling stream—a fearful shriek that burst like the scream of tortured spirits let loose; and then a silence, dumb as death, came upon them all; and then the cheerful voices of men and women chatting merrily beneath the trees, or in the woods, or on the lawns, lasting until the morning. In the morning the pilgrims slept until the noonday; and, in the evening again, when about seven thousand pilgrims were then assembled, the solemn chant falling gradually into the rapid melody, and melody becoming temporary madness, was again renewed. But emphatic testimony is borne to the fact that, though roused to the state of wild excitement, not an act, or word, or gesture, was attempted, that the most scrupulous purist could have condemned. Yet, from this ceremony in the pilgrimage to the sacred valley, the Yezidis have been called the Extinguishers of Lights, and are believed to enact a scene of profanity and vice equalled only by the traditions of extinct orgies.

Devil-worshippers as they are, the poor Yezidis are not to be despised. They are no worse than their neighbours, except in their given name. Ah! not only with the Yezidis, but with all men, perfect knowledge would cast out hatred, and condemnation would die if understanding and sympathy were born in the hearts of men. Not even a Devil-worsbiper is to be hated; and did not Saint-Augustine pray daily for the ultimate Salvation of the devil himself?—*Household Words.*

HOW TO TELL WHEN IT IS GOING TO RAIN.

THE noted Dr. Jenner thus recapitulates the "infallible signs" of a coming storm:

The hollow winds begin to blow,
The clouds look black, the grass is low;
The soot falls down, the spaniels sleep
And spiders from their cobwebs peep.
Last night the sun went pale to bed,
The moon in hallos hung her head;
The boding shepherd heaves a sigh,
For see a rainbow spans the sky.
The walls are damp, the ditches smell,
Closed is the pink-eyed pimpernell.
Hark! how the chairs and table crack,
Old Betty's joints are on the rack;
Her corns with shooting pains torment her,
And to her bed untimely sent her,
Loud quack the ducks, the sea-fowl cry,
The distant hills are looking nigh.
How restless are the snorting swine;
The busy flies disturb the kine.
Low o'er the grass the swallow wings,
The cricket, too, how sharp he sings!
Puss on the hearth, with velvet paws,
Sits wiping o'er her whiskered jaws.
The smoke from chimneys right ascends;
Then spreading, back to earth it bends.
The wind unsteady veers around,
Or settling in the east is found.
Through the clear stream the fishes rise,
And nimbly catch the uncautious flies.
The glow-worms numerous, clear and bright,
Illumed the dewy dell last night.
At dusk the squalid toad was seen,
Like quadruped, stalk o'er the green.
The whirling wind the dust obeys,
And in the rapid eddy plays.
The frog has changed his yellow vest,
And in a russet coat is dress'd,
The sky is green, the air is still,
The mellow blackbird's voice is shrill.
The dog, so altered in his taste,
Quits mutton bones, on grass to feast.
Behold the rooks, how odd their flight;
They imitate the gliding kite,
And seem precipitate to fall,
As if they felt the piercing ball,
The tender colts on back do lie,
Nor heed the traveller passing by;
In fiery red the sun doth rise,
Then wades through clouds to mount the skies.
'Twill surely rain, I see't with sorrow,
Our jaunt must be put off to-morrow.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE—MARCH THE 5TH, 1770.

ON Friday, the 2d day of March, 1770, a soldier of the twenty-ninth asked to be employed at Gray's ropewalk, and was repulsed in the coarsest words. He then defied the ropemakers to a boxing-match; and one of them accepting his challenge, he was beaten off. Returning with several of his companions, they too were driven away. A larger number came down to renew the fight with clubs and cutlasses, and in their turn encountered defeat. By this time Gray and others interposed, and for that day prevented further disturbance.

There was an end of the affair at the ropewalk, but not at the barracks, where the soldiers inflamed each others' passions, as if the honour of the regiment were tarnished. On Saturday they preapared bludgeons; and being resolved to brave the citizens on Monday night, they forewarned their particular acquaintance not to be abroad. Without duly restraining his men, Carr, the Lieutenant Colonel of the twenty-ninth, made complaint to the Lieutenant-Governor of the insult they had received.

The Council, deliberating on Monday, seemed of opinion that the town would never be safe from quarrels between the people and the soldiers, as long as soldiers should be quartered among them. In the present case, the owner of the ropewalk gave satisfaction by dismissing the workmen complained of.

The officers should, on their part, have kept their men within the barracks after nightfall. Instead of it, they left them to roam the streets. Hutchinson should have insisted on measures of precaution; but he too much wished the favour of all who had influence at Westminster.

Evening came on. The young moon was shining brightly in a cloudless winter sky, and its light was increased by a new fallen snow. Parties of soldiers were driving about the streets, making a parade of valour, challenging resistance, and striking the inhabitants indiscriminately with sticks or sheathed cutlasses.

A band which rushed out from Murray's Barracks, in Brattle street, armed with clubs, cutlasses and bayonets, provoked resistance, and an affray ensued. Ensign Maul, at the gate of the barrack-yard, cried to the soldiers, "Turn out and I will stand by you; kill them; stick them; knock them down; run your bayonets through them"; and one soldier after another levelled a firelock and threatened to "make a lane" through the crowd. Just before 9, as an officer crossed King street, now State street, a barber's lad cried after him, "There goes a mean fellow who hath not paid my master for dressing his hair"; on which the sentinel stationed at the westerly end of the Custom-House, on the corner of King street and Exchange lane, left his post, and with his musket gave the boy a stroke on the head, which made him stagger and cry for pain.

The street soon became clear, and nobody troubled the sentry, when a party of soldiers issued violently from the main guard, their arms glittering in the moonlight, and passed on, hallooing, "Where are they? Where are they? Let them come." Presently twelve or fifteen more, uttering the same cries, rushed from the south into King street, and so, by way of Cornhill, toward Murray Barracks. "Pray, soldiers, spare my life," cried a boy of twelve, whom they met. "No, no, I'll kill you all," answered one of them, and knocked him down with a cutlass. They abused and insulted several persons at their doors, and others in the street, "running about like madmen in a fury," crying "Fire," which seemed their watchword, and "where are they? knock them down." Their outrageous behaviour occasioned the ringing of the bell at the head of King street.

The citizens, whom the alarm set in motion, came out with canes and clubs; and, partly by the interference of well-disposed officers, partly by the courage of Crispus Attacks, a mulatto, and some others, the fray at the barracks was soon over. Of the citizens, the prudent shouted "Home, home"; others, it was said, called out, "Huzzah for the main guard, there is the nest"; but the main guard was not molested the whole evening.

A body of soldiers came up Royal Exchange lane, crying "Where are the cowards?" and brandishing their arms, passed through King street. From ten to twenty boys come after them, asking "Where are they, where are they?" "There is the soldier who knocked me down," said the barber's boy, and they began pushing one another toward the sentinel. He primed and loaded his musket. "The lobster is going to shoot us," cried the boy. Waving his piece about, the sentinel pulled the trigger. "If you fire, you must die for it," said Henry Knox, who was passing by. "I don't care," replied the sentry; "damn them; if they touch me, I'll fire." "Fire and be d—d," shouted the boys, for they were persuaded he could not do it without leave from a civil officer; and a young fellow spoke out, "We will knock him down for snapping"; while they whistled through their fingers and huzzaed.

"Stand off," said the sentry, and shouted aloud "Turn out, main guard. They are killing a sentinel," reported a servant from the Custom-House, running to the main guard. "Turn out; why don't you turn out?" cried Preston, who was captain of the day, to the guard. "He appeared in a great flutter of spirits," and "spoke to them roughly." A party of six, two of whom, Kilroi and Montgomery, had been worsted at the ropewalk, formed with a corporal in front, and Preston following. With bayonets fixed, they haughtily "rushed through the people" upon the trot, cursing them and pushing them as they went along. They found about ten persons round the sentry, while about fifty or sixty came down with them. "For God's sake," said Knox, holding Preston by the coat, "take your men back again; if they fire, your life must answer for the consequences." "I know what I am about," said he hastily, and much agitated.

None pressed on them or provoked them till they began loading, when a party of about twelve in number, with their sticks in their hands, moved from the middle of the street where they had been standing, gave three cheers and passed along the front of the soldiers, whose muskets some of them struck as they went by. "You are cowardly rascals," they said, "for bringing arms against naked men; lay aside your guns, and we are ready for you." "Are the soldiers loaded?" inquired Palmes of Preston. "Yes," he answered, with powder and ball. "Are they going to fire upon the inhabitants?" asked Theodore Bliss. "They cannot, without my orders," replied Preston; while "the town born" called out, "Come on, you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire if you dare. We know you dare not." Just then Montgomery received a blow from a stick thrown, which hit his musket; and the word Fire being given, he stepped a little on one side, and shot Attucks, who at the time was quietly leaning on a long stick. The people immediately began moving off. "Don't fire," said Langford, the watchman, to Kilroi, looking him full in the face; but yet he did so, and Samuel Gray, who was standing next to Langford, with his hands in his bosom, fell lifeless. The rest fired slowly and in succession on the people, who were dispersing. One aimed deliberately at a boy, who was running for safety. Montgomery then pushed at Palmes to stab him; on which the latter knocked his gun out of his hand, and, levelling a blow at him, hit Preston. Three persons were killed, among them Attucks, the mulatto; eight were wounded, two of them mortally. Of all the eleven, not more than one had had any share in the disturbance.

So infuriated were the soldiers that when the men returned to take up the dead, they prepared to fire again, but were checked by Preston, while the twenty-ninth regiment appeared under arms in King street, as if bent on a further massacre. "This is our time," cried soldiers of the fourteenth, and dogs were never seen more greedy for their prey.

The bells rung in all the churches; the town drums beat. "To arms, to arms," was the cry. And now was to be tested the true character of Boston. All its sons came forth, excited almost to madness; many were absolutely distracted by the sight of the dead bodies, and of the blood which ran plentifully in the streets, and was imprinted in all directions by the foot tracks on the snow. "Our hearts," says Warren, "beat to arms; almost resolved by one stroke to avenge the death of our slaughtered brethren." But they stood self-possessed and irresistible, demanding justice according to the law. "Did you not know that you should not have fired without orders from a civil magistrate?" asked Hutchinson on meeting Preston. "I did it," answered Preston, "to save my men."

The people would not be pacified till the regiment was confined to the guard-room and the barracks, and Hutchinson himself gave assurances that instant inquiries should be made by the County Magistrates. The body of them then retired, leaving about one hundred persons to keep watch on the examination, which lasted till three hours after midnight. A warrant was issued against Preston, who surrendered himself to the Sheriff, and the soldiers who composed the party were delivered up and committed to prison."—*Bancroft's new vol. of History of U. S.*

FAUSTIN I OF HAYTI.

THE Emperor has the weakness of his race for dress, and probably few, if any, of his imperial or royal brothers in any quarter of the globe have a more costly wardrobe. He attaches full enough importance to the kind of consequence which men in office derive from their tailors, and never appears in public except in full toilet. Even at private receptions he commonly wears his sword and cocked hat. His taste for dress is almost the only one upon which he is extravagant. He has one coat, made in Paris, which cost him $1,200—I quote the well-authenticated gossip of the court circle—and a pair of boots made in New York, decorated with brilliants and gold, which cost $200. The cane with which he commonly walks cost $400. He has several swords, the handles of which are richly jewelled. He has seven stars composed of diamonds, which he wears on great occasions, each of which cost over $4,000. He will wear nothing but the best of its kind, and has a special aversion to anything plebian or unimperial. Hence his indignation at the proposition to sell him Queen Adelaide's second-hand coach. Hence also his reply to an artist who wished to make a bust of him; he consented, but said: "Mind now, you must ask a high price for me, I'll not be sold cheap; take care." A copy of this bust, by the way, was in the Crystal Palace.

Soulouque has about as little education as it is possible for a man to have with his talent in his position. Since he reached his present dignity he is said to have learned to read French, and his panegyrists say that he speaks and reads it elegantly. I presume he made some progress under his instructors, and speaks it with about as much ease and elegance as the president of an American college talks the Latin, in which he confers its degrees and honours. Both would be sorely puzzled if they were called upon to say anything more than they had prepared for. I was told that he had Uncle Tom's Cabin read to him twice, he was so delighted with it; but no one intimated that he read it himself. I was told that he sent an autograph letter to Mrs. Stowe, thanking her for the pleasure he had derived from her famous book. If he wrote the letter himself, he must have made more proficiency in his studies than he has generally the credit of.

I heard him speak several times, but always briefly and in a somewhat sententious style, after the manner of the Oriental and African races. He always expressed what little he had to say in French. I remember one of his speeches in reply to an allusion made by my companion to the intervention of France, England and the United States between the Emperor and the Dominicans a few years ago, during the Presidency of Mr. Fillmore. All he said about it was this: "We are a Christian people, and why should we not be treated like a Christian people. We have two arms and two legs like other men. We have only wanted to act like Christians towards the Dominicans. We do not desire war, but peace; we do not wish to shed blood, but to make all the people of the island prosperous and happy."

This was spoken deliberately, in a very low tone and in tolerably good French. It was, as the reader will perceive, a clear enunciation of a series of distinct and intelligent propositions, without superfluous words. This characteristic marks his discourse.

There is no doubt that he has improved himself vastly since he came into power; but when we consider how very limited are his opportunities of acquiring the even commonplace knowledge of more civilized countries, we should rather wonder at the extent than the limits of his information. He has never read a book, never been able to learn from the page of history and the fate of other nations how people are wisely governed; he has never been off his native island, nor witnessed the operation of any government, nor the habits of any people more intelligent or more happy than his own. What he has learned of other nations is calculated to prejudice him against their example, for they have been the relentless taskmasters of his fathers, and, for the most part, are ready to seize the first opportunity of becoming the taskmasters of his children. All his science of statesmanship and all his notions of government are inductions from the capacities and incapacities, the possessions and the deficiencies, the virtues and the infirmities, the knowledge and the ignorance, the sufferings and the hopes of his proscribed subjects. Their history has been peculiar and their condition is peculiar; it is not strange, therefore, that as long as they are independent their government should be peculiar. The Haytians might find rulers among white men who are wiser statesmen and better political economists; but no white man would cherish and defend their nationality and independence so faithfully as Soulouque; no white man would so cheerfully sacrifice his life to prevent the restoration of slavery to the island. Because he is black, because he has never learned from books and by travel the folly of attempting to elevate the black race to the standard of civilization among the whites, because he cannot read and write, and because he has no advantages which would enable him to make better terms with the oppressors of his race than his subjects could, they prefer him to a wiser, a more educated, a more competent man, who is not bound to them by the bonds of a common colour and a common degradation. His very ignorance enables him to exert an influence over them which, perhaps, a more intelligent man might not be able to command. He feels the power of pomp and parade; he knows as much as they, from personal experience, the superstitions to which the Africans are most susceptible; he knows what are the features of their religion by which they are most impressed, and how to bring it to bear upon them, for he is himself one of the most superstitious and credulous of the race. Hence the diligence with which he avails himself of every convenient means of impressing his people, the care he bestows upon his toilet and retinue when he appears in the street; hence his strict observance of all religious ceremonies (he never goes out of the capital to be absent even for a single night without going to the church to hear mass before returning to his palace); hence his assumption of supernatural graces; hence his elaborate court ceremonial.

It is his practice to ride through the city every day or two early in the morning, usually taking in his way some of his houses that are in process of erection or undergoing repairs, and the Custom House. I never saw him unattended by a well-mounted suite, including one or two cabinet ministers, himself the best dressed and mounted of all, and usually the most dashing rider. If in the course of his *tournee* he sees or hears of anything wrong, he does not wait to have it reported to him at the palace, but in nine cases out of ten stops, dismounts and says what he has to say at once, and in the street. Nor does he waste many words when he scolds. If he threatens an offender, the offence is never repeated more than once. Some of these *bads of justice* are very amusing.

I will describe one, because it illustrates some of the rude but effective processes by which he rules his subjects. He drove up to the Custom House one morning, shortly after he was proclaimed Emperor with a large cavalcade, dismounted, and called several of the employés about him. They approached, veiling their eyes with their right hand—a ceremony prescribed, I suppose, to keep off the glare of majesty—and bowing to the very earth. It seemed that six balances had been set up for weighing logwood instead of three, the usual, and, for aught I know, the lawful number. The Emperor sat down on a chair with his cocked hat on, and the director, weigher and others stood around him, trembling with terror. He began by asking them why they had done this, what right they had to do it, and then went on in Creole:

"Trois balance 'te assez dans temps Monsieur Petion, trois assez a present. Faites descend le, toute suite—Si moi wez (vois) le monte encore, moi fais pendre tous le monde qui fais ça on haut potence la—oui fouta—tous le monde indistinctement. Ou connis moi—Ou connois moi, Mois—Je suis l' Empereur, oui—Moi Je suis premier homme sur terre, meme comme St. Jean Baptiste est premier homme dans cieux—Allez fouta."

It is hard to translate this into English without giving rather more than due emphasis to its profanity. The following version is as nearly correct as I can make it.

"Three balances were enough in the time of M. Petion (former President), three are enough now. Take them down at once, and if I see them up again I will hang every one who does it on the upright yonder. Yes, damn it—every man—without distinction. You know me—you know me; I am Emperor. Yes—me, I am the first man on earth—the same as St. John the Baptist is the first man in heaven. Go, damn you!"

The Emperor accorded the first place to John the Baptist, I presume, because, according to the Haytians, that apostle was a Mason and now the patron saint of the order.

It is due to the Emperor to say that he no longer indulges in ebullitions of this sort—at least publicly. His standard of personal dignity has been considerably exalted since then, and he is now more frequently felt than heard by the transgressors of his laws.—*J. B.'s Notes of a Tour in Hayti, in the Evening Post.*

VISION OF JOSEPH HOAG,

DECEASED, WHO WAS AN EMINENT MINISTER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

IN the year 1803, in the eighth or ninth month, I was one day alone in the field, and observed the sun shone clear, but a mist eclipsed its brightness. As I reflected upon the singularity of the event, my mind was struck into a silence the most solemn I ever remember to have witnessed; for all my faculties were low, and unusually brought into deep silence. I said to myself, what can all this mean? I do not recollect ever before to have been sensible of such feelings. And I heard a voice from Heaven say: "This which thou seest which dims the brightness of the sun is a sign of present and coming times. I took the forefathers of this country from a land of oppression. I planted them here among the people of the forest. I sustained them, and while they were humble I blessed them and fed them, and they became a numerous people; but now they have become proud and lifted up, and have forgotten me who nourished them and protected them in the wilderness, and are running into every abomination and evil practice of which the old countries are guilty, and have take quietude from the land, and suffered a dividing spirit to come among them. Lift up thine eyes and behold." And I saw them dividing in great heat. This division began in the Church on points of doctrine. It commenced in the Presbyterian Society, and went through the various religious denominations, and in its progress and close its effects were the same. Those that dissented went off with high heads and taunting language; and those who kept to their original sentiments appeared exercised and sorrowful; and when the dividing spirit entered the Society of Friends, it raged in as high a degree as in any I had before discovered. As before, those who kept to their ancient principles retired by themselves.

It appeared in Lodges of Freemasons. It broke out in appearance like a volcano, inasmuch as it set the country in an uproar for a length of time. Then it entered politics in the United States, and did not stop until it produced a civil war, and abundance of human blood was shed in course of the combat. The Southern States lost their power, and slavery was annihilated from their borders. Then a monarchical power arose—took the government of the States—established a national religion, and made all the people tributary to support its expenses. I saw them take property from Friends to a large amount. I was amazed at beholding all this, and I heard a voice proclaim: "This power shall not always stand, but with it I shall chastise my Church until they return to the faithfulness of their forefathers. Thou seest what is coming on thy native land for its iniquities and the blood of Africa, the remembrance of which has come up before me. This vision is yet for many days."

I had no idea of writing it for many years, until it became such a burthen, that for my own relief I have written it.—*Copied, by request, from Frederick Douglass's Paper.*

THE MASTODONS OF NEW YORK.

A STATEMENT in this paper, copied from the Albany *Register*, of the 26th, purporting to come from an authentic source, to the effect that the bones of a mastodon had been discovered in a spot near Poughkeepsie, and that Prof. Morse, the inventor of electric telegraph, was engaged in the work of their reconstruction, needs some correction to agree with the facts on which the story was founded. The truth of the matter is this:

Some two weeks ago some labourers, in digging, three miles east of Poughkeepsie, accidentally disinterred a large bone, which was decided to be one of the vertebræ of a mastodon.

A scientific gentleman who was present at the discovery desired to continue the examinations, in order to obtain the complete skeleton, but was prevented in consequence of the rapid filling up of the trench with water, the ground in that neighbourhood being very marshy. An expenditure of four hundred dollars would be necessary to drain the land sufficiently to allow of further operations. When that sum shall be raised, Prof. Morse has volunteered his valuable assistance in disinterring and putting together the remains of the Poughkeepsie megatherium, if any such creature should turn up. And this is all Prof. Morse has had to do with the discovery. That the prosecution of the excavation will reward the explorer for his expense and trouble is more than possible.

The region along the bank of the Hudson, above the Highlands, appears to have been a favourite locality for these gigantic quadrupeds. Indeed, it was here the first evidences of the existence of their remains on this continent was procured. Godman, the late American naturalist, informs us that, as early as 1612, a letter from Dr. Mather to Dr. Woodward was published in the Philosophical Transactions, announcing that some teeth and bones of monstrous size had been discovered at Albany. And in 1801, eighty-nine years afterwards, the first skeleton known in modern times of this wonderful animal was disentombed on the shores of the Hudson, about eighty miles below.

Rembrandt Peale has written a minute account of the exertions of his father and himself in a transaction interesting to the scientific world. A German farmer in 1799, living in the vicinity of Newburgh, while digging a marl pit came upon a number of bones which, on account of their remarkable size he preserved in his garret or granary, where they were sometimes visited by the curious. Fortunately, Mr. C. W. Peale was able to buy these fragments, which went a good way towards constituting an entire skeleton. For three months the father and son, with numerous workmen and expensive machinery, patiently pursuing their excavations over an area of many square miles. Sometimes two hundred labourers were employed simultaneously. The narrative of the excitements and the discouragements incident to their toils is of deep interest, but too detailed for extended quotation. When their success was finally crowned by the long-sought and long-deferred discovery of the under-jaw, "the unconscious woods," says Rembrandt Peale, "echoed with repeated huzzahs, which could not have been more animated if every tree had participated in the joy, 'Gracious God, what a jaw! How many animals have been crushed by it!' was the exclamation of all; a fresh supply of grog went round, and the hearty fellows, covered with mud, continued the search with increasing vigour."

Thus terminated this strange and laborious campaign of three months. "Our venerable relics," says the narrator, "were carefully packed up in distinct cases; and loading two wagons with them, we bade adieu to the vallies and stupendous mountains of Shawangunk."

From the bones thus obtained two skeletons, nearly perfect, were framed, the summit of the head and the end of the tail, in each case, being the only deficiencies.

There is therefore reason to suppose that a similar result might attend further experiments of the same kind in the neighbourhood of Poughkeepsie. All that is wanting, probably, is a subscription for the small amount which we have mentioned, to add